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The Mission of St Augustine to England.

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THE MISSION OF ST AUGUSTINE TO ENGLAND ACCORDING TO THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS, BEING A HANDBOOK FOR THE THIRTEENTH CENTENARY,

EDITED BY

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PREFACE.

THIS book is compiled by desire of his Grace the late Archbishop of Canterbury. With that love of history and that devotion to detail which marked his character, he sketched out what kind of book he wished to be prepared 'before that Commemoration.' It 'must issue from the University Press.' It was to consist of 'a complete collection of authentic documents bearing on Augustine's coming,' translations with the Latin close beside, and footnotes. These documents were to be accompanied by 'investigations on the spot, geographic and hydrographic, Ebbsfleet, Richborough, etc.,' and by 'essays short and few, shewing the real bearing of the events on later controversy.' He thought that this would form 'a most precious little book.' 'It would place,' he wrote, 'the real argument between Rome and us on a clear footing at a time when it would be read by all English-speaking races. It would attract an attention which would not let Roman fallaciae et praestigiae

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sleep. I believe it would have an immense effect.' As might be expected, however, of Archbishop Benson, he did not wish the book in any sense to be an *ex parte* statement of special views of the history. He was anxious that everything should be told; that if, as in the Answers of Gregory to Augustine for instance, anything were left out, it should be most clearly indicated what was the nature of the omission, that no reader might have the least reason for suspecting that the omission had any controversial purpose. 'The Truth,' he wrote to me, 'must be the first aim,—to let people see it as it is.' How far the book, as it now stands, would have satisfied the Archbishop, I do not know; but the desire at least has been to obey the spirit as well as the letter of his injunctions, and to let facts speak for themselves, in all simplicity.

All that is known concerning the Gregorian mission which founded the Church of England is contained in the documents given in this book. The authorities are practically two in number.

First there are Gregory's own letters, and a few phrases in other works of his. The genuineness of those which concern our present purpose is undoubted, with one exception. Unhappily that acute scholar Paul Ewald was taken away before he could give to the world his edition of Gregory's Epistles; but he left elaborate and useful materials for the criticism of them in his article in the *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft f. ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* Vol. III., and in his new

edition of Jaffé's *Regesta Pontificum*,—besides work in manuscript, which enabled Ludwig Hartmann in 1891 to edit the first seven Books in his own and Ewald's name, in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. The text of the Epistles used in this book is that of Ewald and Hartmann, as far as they have gone; the rest are taken from the text of Haddan and Stubbs in the third volume of their *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, and (where the letters occur in Bede) from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. Ewald considered that the superscriptions, endings, and datings of most of the letters as given by Bede, when compared with the form of Gregory's letters in the three great collections of extracts from the Register which are known to us, proved that Bede's copies of the letters could not have been taken, as Bede appears to say that they were, from those preserved in the registry at the Lateran, but that they were derived from the originals preserved in England. Dr Bassenge, in his *Sendung Augustins* (Leipzig, 1890), has suggested a modification of this view. The documents brought from Rome by Nothelm, of which Bede speaks, were, he thinks, the original *drafts* of the letters, not copies from the letters as entered in the Register; and Bede used these drafts along with the originals existing in England in his time, or with copies of them. It makes very little practical difference which of these views is adopted. The substance of the letters is the same; and it is agreed that Bede is our earliest and best authority for the text of them.

The only question of any importance is that relating to the genuineness of Gregory's Replies to Augustine's questions. The facts are as follows. Those Replies appear never to have been entered in the registry of the Lateran, where copies of most of the Papal letters were preserved. Writing in 736, or soon after, to Nothelm, Archbishop of Canterbury, St Boniface begs to have a copy sent him 'of that letter in which are contained, they say, the questions of the pontiff Augustine, the first preacher to the English, and the replies of St Gregory the Pope'; 'and be at the pains,' he adds, 'to examine diligently and with scrupulous caution, whether the composition is proved to be our father St Gregory's or not; because, as the registraries affirm, it was not to be found in the registry of the Roman Church, along with the other copies of that Pope's letters, when search was made for it[1].' It is not in any of the three great collections of excerpts from the letters preserved in the registry; and it only appears in the later MSS. of Gregory's Epistles, into which it passed, no doubt,—sometimes with embellishments,—from Bede[2]. For these reasons Ewald considers its genuineness questionable, though he does not reject it. But it may be urged in reply that the document is not exactly a letter. Bede

[1] The letter of Boniface is given in Haddan and Stubbs iii. p. 336. The date of it cannot be earlier than 736, when Nothelm received the pall which is mentioned in it, nor later than 741, which is the latest possible date for Nothelm's death.

[2] See Jaffé-Ewald *Regest. Pont.* i. 206, 207.

calls it a *libellus*—a little book[1]. It may well have been kept with other works of its author, apart from the registry of letters. It is certain also that not all the Papal letters were entered in the registry[2]; for instance, the indubitable letter (on p. 21) to the missionaries on their way through Gaul was not contained in it. Ewald sees no difficulty in supposing that the original had been sent to England without any copy being kept. And indeed, if the preface to the little work is authentic[3], the circumstances in which the work was composed might give a reason for its not being copied out and entered. Though subsequently delayed, the bearers were in haste, and hardly gave the afflicted Pope time amidst his tortures to dictate his answers to the questions. We are unable now to decide whether Nothelm found the document at Rome, though not in the registry, and brought it with the rest to England, or whether the original was preserved at Canterbury and a copy supplied to Bede from thence. But the internal evidence, as well as Bede's unhesitating acceptance of the document, makes it hard to imagine that these Replies, so characteristic of the mind and of the style of Gregory, could have been forged by some one of the date of Theodore[4].

Our second great authority for the history of the Augustinian Mission is, of course, the Venerable Bede.

[1] See below, p. 9.
[2] Ewald *Neues Archiv* III. p. 438.
[3] It has less authority than the rest, as not being given in Bede.
[4] Which is Duchesne's contention: see below, p. 67.

He is not only one of the most attractive of saints, but also one of the most trustworthy of historians. His work was finished in 731. With a carefulness which endears him to the modern student, Bede almost always gives his authorities for the statements which he makes. This is what he says to king Ceolwulf in his *Praefatio*:

'In order to remove all occasion of doubting in what I have written, from you or any other hearers or readers of this history, I will briefly state from what authorities my facts are acquired.

'Before all others, the author and aider of this humble work was the most reverend Abbot Albinus[1], a man of great and encyclopaedic learning, who, having been taught in the Church of Canterbury by those venerable and erudite men, Archbishop Theodore of blessed memory and Abbot Hadrian, had diligently taken note of everything done either in the province of Kent itself, or in the neighbouring districts,

Ut autem in his, quae scripsi, uel tibi, uel ceteris auditoribus siue lectoribus huius historiae occasionem dubitandi subtraham, quibus haec maxime auctoribus didicerim, breuiter intimare curabo.

Auctor ante omnes atque adiutor opusculi huius Albinus abba reuerentissimus, uir per omnia doctissimus, extitit; qui in ecclesia Cantuariorum a beatae memoriae Theodoro archiepiscopo et Hadriano abbate, uiris uenerabilibus atque eruditissimis, institutus, diligenter omnia, quae in ipsa Cantuariorum prouincia, uel etiam in contiguis eidem regionibus a discipulis

[1] Abbot of St Augustine's, Canterbury.

by the disciples of the blessed Pope Gregory, alike by means of written documents and by the tradition of older men. Those parts of his store which he thought worth recording he transmitted to me by means of that religious presbyter of the Church of London, Nothelm[1], either committed to writing, or to be narrated by Nothelm *viva voce.* Nothelm went to Rome later on, and there, by permission of the pontiff Gregory who now presides over the holy Roman Church, he examined the registry of that Church, and discovered a good many epistles of the blessed Pope Gregory and of other pontiffs likewise; and on his return, by the advice of the most reverend father Albinus, he offered them to me for insertion in my history. Thus, from the beginning of this volume to the date at which the English nation received the faith of Christ, I have learned what there

beati papae Gregorii gesta fuere, uel monimentis litterarum, uel seniorum traditione cognouerat; et ea mihi de his, quae memoria digna uidebantur, per religiosum Lundoniensis ecclesiae presbyterum Nothelmum, siue litteris mandata, siue ipsius Nothelmi uiua uoce referenda, transmisit. Qui uidelicet Nothelmus postea Romam ueniens, nonnullas ibi beati Gregorii papae simul et aliorum pontificum epistulas, perscrutato eiusdem sanctae ecclesiae Romanae scrinio, permissu eius, qui nunc ipsi ecclesiae praeest Gregorii pontificis, inuenit, reuersusque nobis nostrae historiae inserendas cum consilio praefati Albini reuerentissimi patris adtulit. A principio itaque uoluminis huius usque ad tempus, quo gens Anglorum fidem Christi

[1] The same who was afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

was to be said in the main from earlier writings brought together from different quarters. Thence to the present time, what was done in the Church of Canterbury by the disciples of the blessed Pope Gregory and their successors, and under what kings, I have ascertained by the industry of Abbot Albinus, through the mediation of Nothelm, as I said. To them also I am in a great measure indebted for my knowledge of the bishops by whom, and of the kings in whose days, the grace of the Gospel was accepted by the provinces of Essex and Wessex, of East Anglia and of Northumbria....The ecclesiastical proceedings in the province of East Anglia I learned partly from earlier writings and traditions, and partly by the communication of the most reverend Abbot Esi.[1]...With regard to Northumbria, the events

percepit, ex priorum maxime scriptis hinc inde collectis ea, quae promeremus, didicimus. Exinde autem usque ad tempora praesentia, quae in ecclesia Cantuariorum per discipulos beati papae Gregorii, siue successores eorum, uel sub quibus regibus gesta sint, memorati abbatis Albini industria, Nothelmo, ut diximus, perferente, cognouimus. Qui etiam prouinciae Orientalium simul et Occidentalium Saxonum, nec non et Orientalium Anglorum atque Nordanhymbrorum, a quibus praesulibus, uel quorum tempore regum gratiam euangelii perceperint, nonnulla mihi ex parte prodiderunt....Porro in prouincia Orientalium Anglorum, quae fuerint gesta ecclesiastica, partim ex scriptis uel traditione priorum, partim reuerentissimi abbatis Esi relatione conperimus....Quae autem in Nordanhymbrorum

[1] Nothing appears to be known about Esi.

which have taken place in the Church in different localities from the date of the acceptance of the Christian faith till now, I have ascertained not from any single authority, but by the trustworthy statements of numberless witnesses who were in a position to know and remember them, besides what came within the sphere of my own personal knowledge.'

It is, as Mr Plummer says in his Notes upon the passage, of deep interest to see that Bede had the help of written documents (besides the Roman letters) with regard to the Augustinian mission, and with regard to East Anglian history. He had also one important written document (which he does not mention) with regard to the life of him whom he calls 'our Apostle.' The earliest extant biography of St Gregory is one by a monk of Streaneshalch, or Whitby, at the end of the seventh century, which was discovered at St Gall by Paul Ewald, and partly published by him in 1886, in *Historische Aufsätze dem Andenken an G. Waitz gewidmet*[1]. Extracts from it are given by Plummer in his Bede vol. II. p. 389 foll. Bede

prouincia, ex quo tempore fidem Christi perceperunt, usque ad praesens per diuersas regiones in ecclesia sint acta, non uno quolibet auctore, sed fideli innumerorum testium, qui haec scire uel meminisse poterant, adsertione cognoui, exceptis his, quae per me ipsum nosse poteram.

[1] I have not been able to see the *Historische Aufsätze*, and owe the reference to Dr Bassenge, and to Mr Plummer.

carefully distinguishes between that which he learns on good authority, and that which he knows only by report, such as the story of the English boys at Rome. Instances will be found in the following pages of his reference to particular persons who had given him information on particular points, especially in reference to matters in the north.

It is scarcely worth while to refer to later authorities. Gocelin, whose Life (or Lives) of St Augustine fills many pages of the *Acta Sanctorum* (under date May 26), has no historical information to impart. He relates many miracles of St Augustine, especially posthumous ones, and spins out pious reflexions for his brethren the monks of St Augustine's; but the grains of fact amidst all his verbiage are few. He died 1098. A much later member of the same celebrated Abbey, William Thorn, whose Chronicle of his house comes down to the year 1397[1], gathers together some items of real interest from the local traditions of the Kentish city, and makes an intelligent use of them; to which Thomas Elmham, who wrote in the same house a generation later, has nothing to add, though modern writers often refer to him instead of the more deserving Thorn. Thorn's work, at least down to the year 1232, is in all probability little more than a reediting of the Chronicle composed about that date by an earlier monk of St Augustine's, called

[1] It is printed in Twysden and Selden *Hist. Angl. Scriptores Decem.*

Thomas Sprott. The Chronicle of Sprott, as an independent work, has disappeared[1].

Among modern works upon the subject it will only be necessary to name Dr Stanley's *Memorials of Canterbury*, and Dr Bright's *Chapters of Early English Church History* (a new edition is in the press),—works of singular beauty and charm in their various ways; and I may add a grateful mention of the series of little volumes of lectures, published by the S.P.C.K., in which the Bishop of Stepney does so much, year after year, to interest the English public in the beginnings of the Church of England. Bassenge's *Sendung Augustins zur Bekehrung der Angelsachsen* has been mentioned already. Potthast's *Wegweiser* vol. ii. p. 1186 (ed. 1896) refers to other works. I must here express the gratitude which I, in company with all other students of the period, must feel to the *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland* by which the late Mr Haddan and the Bishop of Oxford have lightened the labours of us all; and also to Mr Plummer for his admirable edition of Bede's Historical Works, with the wealth of well digested learning set forth in its notes. In using it, my only ungratified wish has been that sometimes Mr Plummer would have translated, or at least have commented upon, a bit of Papal Latin, which, from his silence, he evidently understands when others do not.

[1] The *Chronica* published in 1719 by Thomas Hearne as Sprott's has no real claim to be his. See Hardwick's *Elmham* (Rolls Series) pp. xv, xvi.

I have finally to express my best thanks to the accomplished scholars who have contributed Dissertations to this book: I am sure that Archbishop Benson would have thanked them heartily. One other Dissertation was to have enriched the book, on the Relations between England and Rome until the Norman Conquest. Professor Collins, who had kindly undertaken to do it, has at the last moment been hindered by a sudden illness. Last, but not least, I beg with profound respect to thank the Lord Bishop of Oxford for finding time to look over a large part of the proofs of this book, and Mr Plummer not only for doing the same, but also for allowing me to use his text of Bede, from which I have only departed occasionally in a matter of spelling or of punctuation.

A. J. M.

Jesus College, Cambridge.
St Gregory's Day, 1897.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

559 or **560** Accession of Ethelbert.

585–588 Meeting of Gregory with the English boys at Rome.

590 Gregory becomes Bishop of Rome.

596 Augustine and his companions start for Britain (prob. early in June).

597 Arrival of Augustine in Thanet.
Baptism of Ethelbert (June 2).
Death of Columba (June 9).
Consecration of Augustine (Nov. 16).

601 Despatch of Mellitus and others to join Augustine.

602 Consecration of St Saviour's Cathedral (June 9).

604 Occupation of the Monastery of St Peter and St Paul (Jan. 9).
Death of Gregory (March 12).
Death of Augustine (May 26).

616 Deaths of Ethelbert (Feb. 24) and Sabert.
Flight of Mellitus and Justus.

619 Death of Lawrence (Feb. 2).

624 Death of Mellitus (April 24).

625 Consecration of Paulinus for Northumbria (July 21).

627 Baptism of Edwin (Easter).
Death of Justus (Nov. 10), and consecration of Honorius at Lincoln by Paulinus.

630 Felix in East Anglia under Sigbert.

633 Edwin killed (Oct. 12). Paulinus retires to Kent.

634 Oswald becomes King of Northumbria.

635 Aidan begins his mission in Northumbria.
Cynegils King of Wessex baptized by Birinus.

642 Oswald killed (Aug. 5); succeeded by Oswy.
Oswy married to Eanfled.

644 Death of Paulinus (Oct. 10); consecration of Ithamar, the first English bishop.

647 Hilda becomes a nun.

651 Death of Aidan (Aug. 31).

653 Baptism of the Mercian Peada; mission of Cedd to the Middle Angles, and afterwards to Essex.
Death of Honorius (Sept. 30).

655 Consecration of Deusdedit to Canterbury by Ithamar (March 26).

658 Revolt of Mercia against Oswy; Wulfheri becomes King.

664 Death of Deusdedit (July 14).
Conference of Whitby; acceptance of the Roman Easter by Oswy, and withdrawal of the Scottish bishop Colman.
Consecration of Wilfrid at Compiègne.

668 Consecration of Theodore by Pope Vitalian (March 26).

669 Arrival of Theodore at Canterbury (May 27).

671 Death of Oswy (Feb. 15).

672 or **673** Birth of Bede.

681 Wilfrid in Sussex.

DEPRECAMVR TE, DOMINE, IN OMNI MISERICORDIA TVA, VT AVFERATVR FVROR TVVS ET IRA TVA A CIVITATE ISTA ET DE DOMO SANCTA TVA, QVONIAM PECCAVIMVS. ALLELVIA.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE MISSION OF ST AUGUSTINE AND HIS COMPANIONS.

I. *Bede's Account of Gregory.*

(Hist. Eccl. II. 1.)

As it was Gregory who by his untiring efforts turned our English nation 'from the power of Satan' to the faith of Christ, it is but proper that in my History of the Church I should give a somewhat extended account of him. He is the man whom we may rightly call our Apostle, and are indeed in duty bound to do so. Occupying the first bishopric in the world, and set to govern Churches which had long been converted to belief in the truth, he made our nation, which up to that time had been enslaved to idols, a Church of Christ;

De quo nos conuenit, quia nostram, id est Anglorum, gentem de potestate Satanae ad fidem Christi sua industria conuertit, latiorem in nostra historia ecclesiastica facere sermonem, quem recte nostrum appellare possumus et debemus apostolum. Quia, cum primum in toto orbe gereret pontificatum, et conuersis iam dudum ad fidem ueritatis esset praelatus ecclesiis, nostram gentem eatenus idolis mancipatam Christi fecit ecclesiam, ita ut apostolicum illum de eo liceat

so that we may use of him the apostolic phrase; that if he is not an Apostle to others, yet doubtless he is to us; for the seal of his apostleship are we in the Lord.

By race he was a Roman. His father's name was Gordian. He came of an ancestral stock which was not only noble, but religious; for Felix, formerly Bishop of the same Apostolic See, and a man of great renown in Christ and the Church, was his great-great-great-grandfather[1]. Gregory himself cultivated the nobility of religion with no less strenuous devotion than his parents and kinsfolk. The secular nobility which he had in the eyes of men, he applied entirely, by gift of God's grace, to winning the glory of rank on high. Suddenly he threw off his secular garb and entered a monastery; in which he began to live with such grace the life of perfection, that

nobis proferre sermonem: quia etsi aliis non est apostolus, sed tamen nobis est; nam signaculum apostolatus eius nos sumus in Domino.

Erat autem natione Romanus, a patre Gordiano, genus a proauis non solum nobile, sed et religiosum ducens. Denique Felix eiusdem apostolicae sedis quondam episcopus, uir magnae gloriae in Christo et ecclesia, eius fuit atauus. Sed ipse nobilitatem religionis non minore quam parentes et cognati uirtute deuotionis exercuit. Nobilitatem uero illam, quam ad saeculum uidebatur habere, totam ad nanciscendam supernae gloriam dignitatis diuina gratia largiente conuertit. Nam mutato repente habitu saeculari monasterium petiit, in quo tanta

[1] If this was Felix III. (or II.) who was Bishop of Rome 483—492, the word *atauus* can hardly be taken in its exact sense. But the fact that Bede has just before used the word *proavis* for 'ancestors' is in favour of supposing *atauus* to be strictly used; in which case the Felix would probably be Felix II., appointed in 355 on the fall of Liberius.

(as he himself would afterwards testify with tears) all fleeting things came to be beneath his notice, and he rose above the world of change; his thoughts were habitually fixed upon heavenly things alone; imprisoned though he was in the body, he escaped in meditation beyond the barriers of the flesh; and he came to look upon death, which to nearly all men is a punishment, with actual affection, as an entrance into life and the reward of his labours. This was the account which he was accustomed to give of himself,—not boasting of his advance in virtues, but rather bewailing the deterioration which he thought himself to have incurred by his pastoral charge. On a private occasion, in conversation with his deacon, Peter, he counted up the former virtues of his soul, and then added sorrowfully; 'But now, because of this pastoral charge, it has to submit to the affairs of men in the world; and, after gaining such fair beauty in its repose, it is soiled with the dust of earthly activity. And

perfectionis gratia coepit conuersari, ut, sicut ipse postea flendo solebat adtestari, animo illius labentia cuncta subteressent, ut rebus omnibus, quae uoluuntur, emineret, ut nulla nisi caelestia cogitare soleret, ut etiam retentus corpore ipsa iam carnis claustra contemplatione transiret, ut mortem quoque, quae pene cunctis poena est, uidelicet ut ingressum uitae, et laboris sui praemium amaret. Haec autem ipse de se, non profectum iactando uirtutum, sed deflendo potius defectum, quem sibi per curam pastoralem incurrisse uidebatur, referre consuerat. Denique tempore quodam secreto, cum diacono suo Petro conloquens, enumeratis animi sui uirtutibus priscis, mox dolendo subiunxit: 'At nunc ex occasione curae pastoralis saecularium hominum negotia patitur, et post tam pulchram quietis suae speciem terreni actus puluere fedatur.

when, out of compliance with the demands of many, it has squandered itself upon outward things, then, even in turning eagerly to the inward things, it comes back to them a distinctly feebler soul. So I weigh what I bear, and I weigh what I have parted with; and while I look at what I have lost, this load that I carry becomes heavier.'

So spoke the holy man in the intensity of his great humility; but we may without presumption believe that he lost nothing of his monastic perfection by reason of his pastoral charge, but that, on the contrary, he made greater advance by his labour for the conversion of many, than he had formerly gained in the retirement of his personal life. It is especially to be noted that when he filled the pontifical office, he deliberately made a monastery of his house; and that when first dragged out of his monastery, and ordained to the service of the altar, and sent by the Apostolic See as its *apocrisiarius*[1]

Cumque se pro condescensione multorum ad exteriora sparserit, etiam cum interiora appetit, ad haec procul dubio minor redit. Perpendo itaque, quid tolero, perpendo, quid amisi; dumque intueor illud, quod perdidi, fit hoc grauius, quod porto.'

Haec quidem sanctus uir ex magnae humilitatis intentione dicebat; sed nos credere decet nihil eum monachicae perfectionis perdidisse occasione curae pastoralis, immo potiorem tunc sumsisse profectum de labore conuersionis multorum, quam de propriae quondam quiete conuersationis habuerat; maxime quia et pontificali functus officio domum suam monasterium facere curauit; et dum primo de monasterio abstractus,

[1] *Apocrisiarius*, from ἀπόκρισις 'an answer,' means the official correspondent or representative of the See of Rome at the imperial court of Constantinople.

to Constantinople, he never dropped, though sojourning in an earthly palace, his pursuit of the heavenly life. Some of the brethren of his monastery, out of pure affection, followed him to the Imperial City; and he made them a means of securing his own observance of his rule. By their example, as he himself writes, he endeavoured to keep always moored with cable and anchor to the quiet shore of prayer, however tossed he might be with the incessant surge of worldly affairs, and to strengthen his mind, which was sapped by secular activities, by reading hard with them every day and talking over what they read. By association, therefore, with them, he was not only protected against earthly encroachments, but was increasingly fired with devotion to the exercises of the heavenly life.

They urged him to expound by mystical interpretation the very obscure and difficult book of the

ad ministerium altaris ordinatus, atque Constantinopolim apocrisiarius ab apostolica sede directus est, non tamen in terreno conuersatus palatio propositum uitae caelestis intermisit. Nam quosdam fratrum ex monasterio suo, qui eum gratia germanae caritatis ad regiam urbem secuti sunt, in tutamentum coepit obseruantiae regularis habere; uidelicet ut eorum semper exemplo, sicut ipse scribit, ad orationis placidum litus, quasi anchorae fune restringeretur, cum incessabili causarum saecularium inpulsu fluctuaret, concussamque saeculi actibus mentem inter eos cotidie per studiosae lectionis roboraret alloquium. Horum ergo consortio non solum a terrenis est munitus incursibus, uerum etiam ad caelestis exercitia uitae magis magisque succensus.

Nam hortati sunt eum, ut librum beati Iob magnis inuolutum obscuritatibus mystica interpretatione discuteret; neque negare

blessed Job; and he felt unable to refuse a work which brotherly love enjoined as likely to help many people. Accordingly in five-and-thirty books he went through the whole of that book with a wonderful system of exegesis, and showed how it is to be understood literally, how referred to the mysteries of Christ and the Church, and how applied to the individual believer. This work he began as *apocrisiarius* in the Imperial City, and finished at Rome after he was made Bishop.

While he was still in the Imperial City, he crushed in its very beginning, by the supernatural assistance of the Catholic truth, a new heresy which there took birth, concerning our resurrection state. Eutychius, Bishop of that city, formulated the doctrine that our body in that resurrection glory will be impalpable, and more subtle than wind and air. When Gregory heard of it, he proved, alike by true reasoning and by the example of the Risen Lord, that this doctrine was altogether

potuit opus, quod sibi fraternus amor multis utile futurum inponebat. Sed eundem librum, quomodo iuxta litteram intellegendus, qualiter ad Christi et ecclesiae sacramenta referendus, quo sensu unicuique fidelium sit aptandus, per XXX et V libros expositionis miranda ratione perdocuit. Quod uidelicet opus in regia quidem urbe apocrisiarius inchoauit, Romae autem iam pontifex factus expleuit.

Qui cum adhuc esset regia in urbe positus, nascentem ibi nouam heresim de statu nostrae resurrectionis, cum ipso, quo exorta est, initio, iuuante se gratia catholicae ueritatis, attriuit. Siquidem Eutycius eiusdem urbis episcopus dogmatizabat corpus nostrum in illa resurrectionis gloria inpalpabile, uentis aereque subtilius esse futurum; quod ille audiens, et ratione ueritatis, et exemplo dominicae resurrectionis, probauit hoc

opposed to the orthodox faith. For the Catholic faith asserts that our bodies, when sublimated by that glory of immortality, will be rendered subtle, no doubt, by spiritual energy, but will be palpable in their real nature; as was the case with our Lord's body, of which, in its resurrection state, He said to His disciples, 'Handle Me and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see Me have.' In the maintenance of this belief the venerable father Gregory laboured so strenuously against the newborn heresy, and demolished it with such thoroughness—aided by the religious Emperor, Tiberius Constantius,—that no one has ever been found since to revive it.

He composed also another excellent book called the 'Pastoral,' in which he set forth with luminous clearness what kind of men should be chosen to govern the Church, how such governors should live, the different ways in which they should instruct the

dogma orthodoxae fidei omnimodis esse contrarium. Catholica etenim fides habet, quod corpus nostrum illa inmortalitatis gloria sublimatum subtile quidem sit per effectum spiritalis potentiae, sed palpabile per ueritatem naturae; iuxta exemplum dominici corporis, de quo a mortuis suscitato dicit ipse discipulis: 'Palpate et uidete, quia spiritus carnem et ossa non habet, sicut me uidetis habere.' In cuius adsertione fidei uenerabilis pater Gregorius in tantum contra nascentem heresim nouam laborare contendit, tanta hanc instantia, iuuante etiam piissimo imperatore Tiberio Constantino, conminuit, ut nullus exinde sit inuentus, qui eius resuscitator existeret.

Alium quoque librum conposuit egregium, qui uocatur Pastoralis, in quo manifesta luce patefecit, quales ad ecclesiae regimen adsumi, qualiter ipsi rectores uiuere, qua discretione

various classes of their hearers, and the consideration with which they ought daily to think of their own frailty. Besides this, he composed forty Homilies on the Gospel, which he distributed in two equal volumes. He wrote four books of Dialogues, in which, at the request of his deacon Peter, he collected for the practical example of posterity the virtues of the most distinguished Italian saints whom he had either known or heard of; so that, as in his expository works he taught what virtues are to be striven after, he might shew in his account of the miracles of the saints, how glorious those virtues are. He proved in two-and-twenty Homilies how much light is contained in the opening and closing portions of the prophet Ezekiel, which were felt to be obscure. I do not mention here the short book which he wrote in reply to the questions of St Augustine, the first Bishop of the English nation; this I have shewn above, where I have

singulas quasque audientium instruere personas, et quanta consideratione propriam cotidie debeant fragilitatem pensare. Sed et omelias euangelii numero XL conposuit, quas in duobus codicibus aequa sorte distinxit. Libros etiam Dialogorum IIII fecit, in quibus, rogatu Petri diaconi sui, uirtutes sanctorum, quos in Italia clariores nosse uel audire poterat, ad exemplum uiuendi posteris collegit; ut, sicut in libris expositionum suarum, quibus sit uirtutibus insudandum, edocuit, ita etiam descriptis sanctorum miraculis, quae uirtutum earumdem sit claritas, ostenderet. Primam quoque et ultimam Ezechielis prophetae partem, quae uidebantur obscuriores, per omelias XX et duas, quantum lucis intus habeant, demonstrauit. Excepto libello responsionum, quem ad interrogationes sancti Augustini primi Anglorum gentis episcopi scripsit, ut et supra docuimus, totum ipsum libellum his inserentes historiis; libello

embodied the book whole in this History[1]; nor his very useful *Libellus Synodicus*, which he composed in conjunction with the Italian bishops on matters of importance to the Church; nor his Letters to some of his friends. It is the more wonderful that he should have been able to compose so many voluminous works, because during almost the whole of his early life (to use his own expressions) he was constantly tortured with internal pain, depressed by chronic indigestion, and panting under slow but uninterrupted fevers. Yet amidst all this, by resolute reflexion on the fact attested in Scripture, that 'every son who is received, is scourged,' the more sternly he was borne down by present afflictions, the more surely he drew encouragement for his eternal prospects.

I need say no more concerning his deathless genius, which not even all this bodily suffering could repress. Other bishops applied themselves to building churches

quoque synodico, quem cum episcopis Italiae de necessariis ecclesiae causis utillimum conposuit, et familiaribus ad quosdam litteris. Quod eo magis mirum est tot eum ac tanta condere uolumina potuisse, quod omni pene iuuentutis suae tempore, ut uerbis ipsius loquar, crebris uiscerum doloribus cruciabatur, horis momentisque omnibus fracta stomachi uirtute lassescebat, lentis quidem, sed tamen continuis febribus anhelabat. Uerum inter haec, dum sollicitus pensaret, quia scriptura teste: 'Omnis filius, qui recipitur, flagellatur'; quo malis praesentibus durius deprimebatur, eo de aeterna certius praesumtione respirabat.

Haec quidem de inmortali eius sint dicta ingenio, quod nec tanto corporis potuit dolore restingui. Nam alii quidam

[1] See below, p. 67.

and adorning them with gold and silver, but Gregory's whole time was devoted to the winning of souls.

Whatever money he had possessed, with thoughtful determination he 'dispersed abroad and gave to the poor,' that 'his righteousness might remain for ever, and his horn be exalted with honour'; so that he might truthfully have said with the blessed Job; 'When the ear heard me, then it blessed me...For from my youth compassion grew up with me, and came forth with me from my mother's womb.'

It was a part of his work of charity and righteousness, that, by means of the preachers whom he sent hither, he delivered our nation from the teeth of the ancient enemy, and made it to partake of everlasting liberty. His sympathetic joy in the faith and salvation of England, and the generous praise with which he commends it, are expressed in his Exposition of the blessed Job[1]. 'Behold, the language of Britain, which

pontifices construendis ornandisque auro uel argento ecclesiis operam dabant, hic autem totus erga animarum lucra uacabat.

Quicquid pecuniae habuerat, sedulus hoc dispergere ac dare pauperibus curabat, ut iustitia eius maneret in saeculum saeculi, et cornu eius exaltaretur in gloria; ita ut illud beati Iob ueraciter dicere posset: 'Auris audiens beatificauit me.. Quia ab infantia mea creuit mecum miseratio, et de utero matris meae egressa est mecum.'

Ad cuius pietatis et iustitiae opus pertinet etiam hoc, quod nostram gentem per praedicatores, quos huc direxit, de dentibus antiqui hostis eripiens aeternae libertatis fecit esse participem; cuius fidei et saluti congaudens, quamque digna laude commendans, ipse dicit in Expositione beati Iob: 'Ecce lingua

[1] *Moralia in Iob* xxvii. 11.

knew only how to mouth out an uncouth noise, has for some time past begun to resound the Hebrew Alleluia in praise of God. Behold, the ocean, once so turbulent, lies quiet and serviceable beneath the feet of the saints; its wild movements, which earthly princes could not subjugate with the sword, are spell-bound with awe of God by simple words from the lips of priests, and the unbeliever who would not have dreaded troops of fighting men is now a believer who fears the tongues of the lowly. He has received the words of heaven; miracles have shone round him; the knowledge of God puts strength into him, and the fear of God at the same time restrains him, so that he dreads to do wrong, and longs with the whole force of his desire to come to the grace of eternity.' In these words the blessed Gregory incidentally informs us that St Augustine and his companions used not only the words of preaching

Brittaniae, quae nil aliud nouerat quam barbarum frendere, iam dudum in diuinis laudibus Hebreum coepit alleluia resonare. Ecce quondam tumidus, iam substratus sanctorum pedibus seruit oceanus, eiusque barbaros motus, quos terreni principes edomare ferro nequiuerant, hos pro diuina formidine sacerdotum ora simplicibus uerbis ligant, et qui cateruas pugnantium infidelis nequaquam metueret, iam nunc fidelis humilium linguas timet. Quia enim perceptis caelestibus uerbis, clarescentibus quoque miraculis, uirtus ei diuinae cognitionis infunditur, eiusdem diuinitatis terrore refrenatur, ut praue agere metuat, ac totis desideriis ad aeternitatis gratiam uenire concupiscat.' Quibus uerbis beatus Gregorius hoc quoque declarat, quia sanctus Augustinus et socii eius non sola praedicatione uerborum, sed etiam caelestium ostensione signorum gentem Anglorum ad agnitionem ueritatis perducebant.

to bring the English nation to the acknowledgement of the truth, but also displayed heavenly signs.

Amongst other things which he did, the blessed Pope Gregory caused masses to be celebrated in the churches of the Apostles St Peter and St Paul over their bodies. In the celebration of the mass itself, he added three sentences full of the highest perfection: 'And dispose our days in Thy peace, and cause us to be delivered from everlasting damnation, and to be numbered in the flock of Thine elect.'

He governed the Church in the days of the Emperors Maurice and Phocas. In the second year of Phocas he passed away from this life, and entered into the true life which is in heaven. His body was buried in the Church of the blessed Apostle Peter, in front of the sacristy, on the 12th of March, one day to rise again in glory with the other pastors of the Holy Church; and the following epitaph was inscribed on the tomb:—

Fecit inter alia beatus papa Gregorius, ut in ecclesiis sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli super corpora eorum missae celebrarentur. Sed et in ipsa missarum celebratione tria uerba maximae perfectionis plena superadiecit: 'Diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab aeterna damnatione nos eripi, et in electorum tuorum iubeas grege numerari.'

Rexit autem ecclesiam temporibus imperatorum Mauricii et Focatis. Secundo autem eiusdem Focatis anno transiens ex hac uita, migrauit ad ueram, quae in caelis est, uitam. Sepultus uero est corpore in ecclesia beati Petri apostoli, ante secretarium, die quarto Iduum Martiarum, quandoque in ipso cum ceteris sanctae ecclesiae pastoribus resurrecturus in gloria, scriptumque in tumba ipsius epitaphium huiusmodi:

Receive a body taken from thine own,
And when God quickens, give it back, O earth;
The spirit, safe from death, is heavenward flown,
For dissolution was its second birth.

These slabs the bones of a Chief Pontiff hold:
He yet lives in the far-spread good he did;
His bounties conquer'd hunger and the cold,
And souls from hell's attack his teaching hid.

His practice equall'd what his preaching taught;
Himself exemplified his doctrine true.
The English by his love to Christ were brought,
And faith acquired recruits in races new.

O Shepherd, this was all thy toil and care,—
To add the utmost to thy Master's sheep.
Thy Master's office and His triumph share!
Thy recompense for ever thou shalt keep.

Suscipe, terra, tuo corpus de corpore sumtum,
Reddere quod ualeas uiuificante Deo.
Spiritus astra petit, leti nil iura nocebunt,
Cui uitae alterius mors magis ipsa uia est.

Pontificis summi hoc clauduntur membra sepulchro,
Qui innumeris semper uiuit ubique bonis.
Esuriem dapibus superauit, frigora ueste,
Atque animas monitis texit ab hoste sacris.

Implebatque actu, quicquid sermone docebat,
Esset ut exemplum, mystica uerba loquens.
Ad Christum Anglos conuertit pietate magistra,
Adquirens fidei agmina gente noua.

Hic labor, hoc studium, haec tibi cura, hoc pastor agebas,
Ut Domino offerres plurima lucra gregis.
Hisque Dei consul factus laetare triumphis;
Nam mercedem operum iam sine fine tenes.

I must not fail to mention a traditional belief concerning the blessed Gregory, with regard to the incident which first prompted him to take such pains for the salvation of the English. It is said that one day, when some merchants were newly arrived, and many articles for sale were collected in the forum, and many purchasers assembled, Gregory came amongst the rest, and saw, amongst other objects, some boys exposed for sale, with fair white bodies and attractive countenances, and with remarkable heads of hair. When he saw them, he enquired (so we are told), from what district or country they were brought. He was informed that it was from the island of Britain, and that that was what the inhabitants were like. Again he enquired whether the people of the island were Christians, or were still wrapped in the errors of heathenism. He was told that they were heathens. He heaved a long sigh or two from his inmost heart, and said, 'Alas, the pity!

Nec silentio praetereunda opinio, quae de beato Gregorio traditione maiorum ad nos usque perlata est; qua uidelicet ex causa admonitus tam sedulam erga salutem nostrae gentis curam gesserit. Dicunt, quia die quadam cum, aduenientibus nuper mercatoribus, multa uenalia in forum fuissent conlata, multi ad emendum confluxissent, et ipsum Gregorium inter alios aduenisse, ac uidisse inter alia pueros uenales positos candidi corporis, ac uenusti uultus, capillorum quoque forma egregia. Quos cum aspiceret, interrogauit, ut aiunt, de qua regione uel terra essent adlati. Dictumque est, quia de Brittania insula, cuius incolae talis essent aspectus. Rursus interrogauit, utrum idem insulani Christiani, an paganis adhuc erroribus essent inplicati. Dictum est, quod essent pagani. At ille, intimo ex corde longa trahens suspiria: 'Heu, pro

that human beings with such bright countenances should be possessed by the author of darkness, and that such a graceful exterior should enclose a mind destitute of grace within!' So he enquired once more what that nation was called. The answer was, 'The Angles.' 'Good,' said he; 'they have the faces of Angels; and such should be made joint heirs with the Angels in heaven. What is the name of the particular province these boys were brought from?' The answer was, that the people of that province were called 'Deiri.' 'Good,' said he; 'Deiri; that means *de ira eruti*, snatched from wrath, and called to the mercy of Christ. What is the King of the province called?' The answer was, 'Aelli.' Playing upon the name, he said, 'Alleluia, the praise of God our Maker must be sung in those parts[1].'

dolor!' inquit, 'quod tam lucidi uultus homines tenebrarum auctor possidet, tantaque gratia frontispicii mentem ab interna gratia uacuam gestat!' Rursus ergo interrogauit, quod esset uocabulum gentis illius. Responsum est, quod Angli uocarentur. At ille: 'Bene,' inquit; 'nam et angelicam habent faciem, et tales angelorum in caelis decet esse coheredes. Quod habet nomen ipsa prouincia, de qua isti sunt adlati?' Responsum est, quod Deiri uocarentur idem prouinciales. At ille: 'Bene,' inquit, 'Deiri; de ira eruti, et ad misericordiam Christi uocati. Rex prouinciae illius quomodo appellatur?' Responsum est, quod Aelli diceretur. At ille adludens ad nomen ait: 'Alleluia, laudem Dei Creatoris illis in partibus oportet cantari.'

[1] 'The date...is fixed between 585 and 588 by the fact that after his long stay at Constantinople he returned to Rome in 585 or 586...On the other hand, Aella, whom the slaves owned as their king, died in 588'; Green *Making of England* p. 216. According to the tradition recorded by Thorn (col. 1757) the boys were three in number. The Whitby *Life of Gregory* (which does not say that they were exposed for sale) mentions that

So he went to the Bishop of the Apostolic See of Rome (he was not yet Bishop himself), and asked him to send some ministers of the word to the English nation in Britain, to convert them to Christ, and said that he was himself prepared to accomplish the task with the Lord's help, if the Apostolic Pope should be pleased to have it so. As he was unable to accomplish this plan—for, though the Bishop was willing to grant his request, the citizens of Rome could not bring themselves to permit him to withdraw to such a distance from the city,—as soon as he came to discharge the office of Bishop himself, he accomplished the long wished-for work; sending others indeed to preach, but helping the preaching to bear fruit, by his exhortations and by his prayers. This belief, received from ancient sources, I have deemed it suitable to incorporate in this Church History.

Accedensque ad pontificem Romanae et apostolicae sedis, nondum enim erat ipse pontifex factus, rogauit, ut genti Anglorum in Brittaniam aliquos uerbi ministros, per quos ad Christum conuerteretur, mitteret; se ipsum paratum esse in hoc opus Domino cooperante perficiendum, si tamen apostolico papae, hoc ut fieret, placeret. Quod dum perficere non posset, quia, etsi pontifex concedere illi, quod petierat, uoluit, non tamen ciues Romani, ut tam longe ab urbe secederet, potuere permittere; mox ut ipse pontificatus officio functus est, perfecit opus diu desideratum; alios quidem praedicatores mittens, sed ipse praedicationem ut fructificaret, suis exhortationibus ac precibus adiuuans. Haec iuxta opinionem, quam ab antiquis accepimus, historiae nostrae ecclesiasticae inserere opportunum duximus.

'as some say, they were beautiful boys;—according to others, active, good-looking young men.'

II. *Gregory's first plan for the Conversion of Englishmen*[1].

(Epist. lib. VI. ind. xiv. num. 7.)

Gregory to the presbyter Candidus, on his way to the estate in Gaul.

As you are proceeding, with the assistance of our Lord God, Jesus Christ, to the management of the estate in Gaul, we should be glad if, with[2] the moneys which you will receive, you would be so good as to purchase garments that are worn by the poor, and also

Gregorius *Candido presbytero eunti ad patrimonium Galliae.*

Pergens auxiliante Domino Deo nostro Iesu Christo ad patrimonium quod est in Galliis gubernandum, uolumus ut dilectio tua ex solidis quos acceperit uestimenta pauperum uel

[1] I place this letter here in accordance with the arrangement of Ewald and Hartmann, who date it 595, and of Haddan and Stubbs (*Councils and Eccl. Documents* III. pp. 4, 5). I think, however, that this date is questionable. The commendatory letters which follow, give the impression that Candidus was sent for the first time to govern the patrimony in 596, when Augustine was despatched to Britain. If that is so, this plan of purchasing English boys was to go on side by side with Augustine's work.

[2] *Ex* would in classical Latin imply that only a portion of the money was to be spent on these objects; but the reason assigned, namely that the Gaulish money would not pass in Italy, seems to show that *ex solidis* here simply means '*with* the money.' Similarly in the next line *ab annis xvii* might mean 'from 17 years old upwards'; but it more probably means, in Gregory's Latin, '*of* seventeen or eighteen.'

English boys, of the age of seventeen or eighteen years, that they may be given to God in the monasteries, to their profit; so that the Gaulish money, which in our country would not pass, may be spent to good purpose in the place to which it belongs. If you are able to recover any of the revenues which are said to have been diverted[1], we should be glad if you would with them also purchase garments worn by the poor, and, as we said before, boys who may profit in the service of Almighty God. But as those who are to be had in that country are heathens, I desire that a presbyter should be sent over with them, for fear of sickness occurring on the journey, in order that if he sees any likely to die, he may duly baptize them. Have the goodness therefore to be sure to fulfil these wishes promptly and carefully.

pueros Anglos, qui sint ab annis decem et septem uel decem et octo, ut in monasteriis dati Deo proficiant, comparet, quatenus solidi Galliarum, qui in terra nostra expendi non possunt, apud locum proprium utiliter expendantur. Si quid uero de pecuniis redituum quae dicuntur ablatae recipere potueris, ex his quoque uestimenta pauperum comparare te uolumus uel, sicut praefati sumus, pueros qui in omnipotentis Dei seruitio proficiant. Sed quia pagani sunt qui illic inueniri possunt, uolo ut cum eis presbyter transmittatur, ne quid aegritudinis contingat in uia, ut quos morituros conspexerit debeat baptizare. Ita igitur tua dilectio faciat, ut haec diligenter implere festinet.

[1] Ducange (*s. v.*) treats the word *ablatae* as the name of a particular kind of rent or tax. But it is plain, on comparison with the letters to Vergilius and to Protasius (see below pp. 26, 27), that Gregory is referring to moneys which had been withheld by those whose business it was to collect and to pay them over.

III. *Attitude of the British Christians to the English before the coming of Augustine.*

(Bede I. xxii.)

Among other indescribable iniquities, which their historian Gildus recounts in his lamentable discourse, they were guilty also of this, that they never preached or delivered the word of faith to the Saxon or English nation which dwelt side by side with them in Britain. But the lovingkindness of God did not so abandon 'His people whom He foreknew,' but that He designed for that nation far worthier heralds of the truth, by whom it might believe.

IV. *The Mission of Augustine and his companions.*

(Bede I. xxiii.)

In the year of the Lord's Incarnation 582, Maurice, the 54th Emperor from Augustus, began to reign, and reigned 21 years. In the tenth[1] year of his reign,

Qui inter alia inenarrabilium scelerum facta, quae historicus eorum Gildus flebili sermone describit, et hoc addebant, ut numquam genti Saxonum siue Anglorum, secum Brittaniam incolenti, uerbum fidei praedicando committerent. Sed non tamen diuina pietas plebem suam, quam praesciuit, deseruit, quin multo digniores genti memoratae praecones ueritatis, per quos crederet, destinauit.

Siquidem anno ab incarnatione Domini DLXXXII Mauricius ab Augusto LIIII imperium suscipiens XX et I

[1] It should probably be the ninth, i.e. 590.

Gregory, a man of great eminence doctrinal and practical, received the bishopric of the Apostolic See of Rome, and governed for thirteen years, six months, and ten days. Impelled by a motion from God, in the fourteenth year of the Emperor Maurice, and about 150 years after the coming of the English into Britain, Gregory sent Augustine, a servant of God[1], and with him a number of other monks who feared the Lord, to preach the word of God to the English nation.

They went to work in obedience to the pontiff's command; but they had but accomplished a small portion of the journey[2], when, smitten with helpless fear, they thought of returning home, instead of going on to an uncivilised, a fierce, and an unbelieving nation, of whose very language they were ignorant; and taking counsel together they resolved that this was the safer

annis tenuit. Cuius anno regni X Gregorius, uir doctrina et actione praecipuus, pontificatum Romanae et apostolicae sedis sortitus rexit annos XIII, menses VI, et dies X. Qui diuino admonitus instinctu anno XIIII eiusdem principis, aduentus uero Anglorum in Brittaniam anno circiter CL, misit seruum Dei Augustinum et alios plures cum eo monachos timentes Dominum praedicare uerbum Dei genti Anglorum. Qui cum iussis pontificalibus obtemperantes memoratum opus adgredi coepissent, iamque aliquantulum itineris confecissent, perculsi timore inerti, redire domum potius, quam barbaram, feram, incredulamque gentem, cuius ne linguam quidem nossent, adire cogitabant, et hoc esse tutius communi

[1] That is, a monk.

[2] They had apparently got as far as the neighbourhood of Aix in Provence; see the letters to Stephen of Lerins and Protasius of Aix given below.

plan. Without delay, they sent home Augustine,—whom Gregory had intended, in case they were welcomed by the English, to be ordained as their Bishop—to obtain by humble entreaty from the blessed Gregory, that they might not be obliged to engage upon a journey so perilous, so laborious, and so uncertain. But Gregory sent them a letter of exhortation, persuading them to proceed to the work of the Word, and to rely upon the help of God. The following is a copy of the letter.

Gregory, servant of the servants of God, to the servants of our Lord.

It would have been better not to begin good things, than, when they are begun, to turn back from them again in thought; and therefore, dearest sons, you should earnestly endeavour to accomplish the good work which with the Lord's help you have begun. Do

consilio decernebant. Nec mora, Augustinum, quem eis episcopum ordinandum, si ab Anglis susciperentur, disposuerat, domum remittunt, qui a beato Gregorio humili supplicatu obtineret, ne tam periculosam, tam laboriosam, tam incertam peregrinationem adire deberent. Quibus ille exhortatorias mittens litteras, in opus eos uerbi, diuino confisos auxilio, proficisci suadet. Quarum uidelicet litterarum ista est forma:

Gregorius seruus seruorum Dei seruis Domini nostri.

Quia melius fuerat bona non incipere, quam ab his, quae coepta sunt, cogitatione retrorsum redire, summo studio, dilectissimi filii, oportet, ut opus bonum, quod auxiliante Domino

not allow yourselves to be deterred by the toilsomeness of the journey, nor by the tongues of evil-speaking men; but with all determination and enthusiasm finish under the blessing of God what you have taken up, knowing that great toil is followed by the greater glory of the eternal recompense. On the return of Augustine your Superior[1], whom we have also appointed your Abbot, obey him humbly in everything; knowing that, come what may, it will be to your souls' advantage to perform whatever is performed at his bidding. Almighty God protect you with His grace, and grant me to see the fruit of your labour in the eternal home, that although I cannot join in your work, I may be found along with you in the joy of the reward, because I would join in the work if I could. God keep you safe, dearest sons.

coepistis, impleatis. Nec labor uos ergo itineris, nec maledicorum hominum linguae deterreant; sed omni instantia, omnique feruore, quae inchoastis, Deo auctore peragite, scientes quod laborem magnum maior aeternae retributionis gloria sequitur. Remeanti autem Augustino praeposito uestro, quem et abbatem uobis constituimus, in omnibus humiliter oboedite, scientes hoc uestris animabus per omnia profuturum, quicquid a uobis fuerit in eius admonitione completum. Omnipotens Deus sua uos gratia protegat, et uestri laboris fructum in aeterna me patria uidere concedat; quatinus etsi uobiscum laborare nequeo, simul in gaudio retributionis inueniar, quia laborare scilicet uolo. Deus uos incolumes custodiat, dilectissimi filii.

[1] The word may, perhaps, have here the more definite sense of Prior.

V. *Gregory's Letters Commendatory of Augustine.*

(1) *To various Bishops of Gaul*[1].

(Epist. lib. VI. ind. xiv. num. 52 foll.)

Although among priests possessed of the charity which pleases God, religious men require no man's recommendation, yet as a favourable opportunity for writing has occurred, we have made sure of sending a few lines to you, brother, to tell you that we have despatched to those parts the bringers of these presents, Augustine, a servant of God, of whose earnestness we are confident, along with other servants of God, for the good of souls, with the Lord's help; and your Holiness must be forward to help him, with a priest's[2] earnestness, and to offer him the encouragements[3] that he may need.

Gregorius *Pelagio de Turnis, etc.*

Licet apud sacerdotes habentes Deo placitam caritatem religiosi uiri nullius commendatione indigeant; quia tamen aptum scribendi se tempus ingessit, fraternitati uestrae nostra mittere scripta curauimus: insinuantes latores praesentium Augustinum seruum Dei, de cuius certi sumus studio, cum aliis seruis Dei, illic nos pro utilitate animarum auxiliante Domino direxisse; quem necesse est ut sacerdotali studio sanctitas uestra adiuuare et sua ei solacia praebere festinet;

[1] I give these letters in the order of the Benedictine editors, followed by Haddan and Stubbs. Bede gives a copy addressed to Etherius, Bishop of Lyons, whom he mistakenly supposes to have been Bishop of Arles.

[2] *Sacerdos*, as usual in patristic Latin, means 'a bishop,' not a presbyter.

[3] *Solacium* is used in a very wide sense. It sometimes includes even that of a regular salary.

In order that you may, possibly, be the more ready to lend your support, we have charged Augustine himself to explain the circumstances to you in detail; knowing that when you are aware of them, you will apply yourself unreservedly for God's sake to the task of encouragement, which indeed is wanted.

At the same time we commend to your kindness in everything our common son, the presbyter Candidus, whom we have sent to administer the poor estate which belongs to our Church.

(2) *To Vergilius, Bishop of Arles, and Metropolitan.*

Although we are confident, brother, that you are bent upon good works, and exert yourself spontaneously in causes pleasing to God, nevertheless we think that there is an advantage in addressing you with brotherly charity, in order that our letter may provoke you to

cui etiam, ut promptiores ad suffragandum possitis existere, causam uobis iniunximus subtiliter indicare; scientes quod ea cognita, tota uos propter Deum deuotione ad solaciandum, quia res exigit, commodetis. Candidum praeterea presbyterum communem filium quem ad gubernationem patrimonioli ecclesiae nostrae transmisimus caritati uestrae in omnibus commendamus.

Gregorius *Vergilio Episcopo Arelatensi metropolitae.*

Quamuis fraternitatem uestram bonis esse intentam operibus et sponte se in causis exhibere Deo placitis confidamus; uerum tamen utile esse fraterna uos alloqui caritate credimus ut solacia quae ultro uos decet impendere nostris quoque

increase those encouragements which you would appropriately offer without being asked. And therefore we inform your Holiness that we have by the Lord's Providence sent to those parts, for the sake of souls, Augustine, a servant of God, the bearer of these presents, whose zeal and earnestness is well known to us, along with other servants of God, as he will be able to inform you face to face. In this matter you must help him with prayer and with other aids; and where he has need, you must give him the support of your encouragements, and comfort him as is fitting with fatherly, priestly consolation; so that if, as we hope, he is enabled to gain anything for our God, his having enjoyed the consolations of your Holiness may entitle you, who unselfishly supply him with your bountiful support in good works, to a share in his reward.

As being of one mind with us, brother, pray consider our recommendation of the presbyter Candidus, our

prouocati epistolis augeatis. Atque ideo indicamus sanctitati uestrae Augustinum seruum Dei praesentium portitorem, cuius zelum et studium bene nobis est cognitum, cum aliis seruis Dei pro animarum nos illic compendio transmisisse, sicut uobis ipse coram positus poterit indicare. In qua re oratione uos eum et auxiliis adiuuare necesse est, atque ubi opus exegerit solaciorum uestrorum ei praebere suffragia et paterna ac sacerdotali illum consolatione sicut conuenit refouere: quatenus dum sanctitatis uestrae fuerit solamina consecutus, si quid Deo nostro lucri facere sicut optamus ualuerit, et uos possitis pariter mercedem acquirere, qui ad bona opera suffragii uestri deuote copiam ministratis.

Candidum autem presbyterum communem filium et patrimoniolum ecclesiae nostrae fraternitas uestra, quippe ut

common son, and of the poor estate belonging to our Church, that by your Holiness's help the poor may derive some profit and maintenance from it. Your predecessor held that estate for many years, and kept by him the payments which he collected; we beg you therefore, brother, to remember to whom the property belongs, and to what purposes it is employed, and, out of regard for your soul, to restore it to our son Candidus aforesaid, to be forwarded to us. It is a very detestable thing that what has been preserved by the kings of the nations should be said to have been diverted by the bishops.

(3) *To Protasius, Bishop of Aix* (*in Provence*).

Your great love for the blessed Peter, the Chief of the Apostles, is manifested not only by your official prerogative, but also by the devotion which you show in reference to the interests of his Church. So we have

unanimis nobis, habere studeat commendatum, ut aliquid inde pauperum alimoniis sanctitate uestra ualeat adiuuante proficere. Quia igitur patrimoniolum ipsum per annos plurimos prodecessor uester tenuit et collectas apud se pensiones seruauit; fraternitas uestra cuius sint res uel quibus erogantur consideret, atque eas animae suae respectu suprascripto filio nostro Candido presbytero nobis restituat dirigendas. Nam ualde est execrabile ut quod a regibus gentium seruatum est ab episcopis dicatur ablatum.

Gregorius *Protasio Episcopo de Aquis Galliae.*

Quantus in uobis beati Petri Apostolorum principis amor excellat non solum officii uestri praerogatiua, sed etiam deuotio quam circa utilitates ecclesiae ipsius geritis patefecit. Quam

learned by what Augustine, the servant of God, the bringer of these presents, tells us; and we greatly rejoice and give thanks for the affection and zeal for the truth which is in you, because, though absent in body, you show yourself in mind and soul to be with us, inasmuch as you exercise towards us a brother's charity, as is fitting. That facts may bear out what good report has told of you, bid Vergilius, our brother and fellow-bishop, to be sure to remit to us the payments which his predecessor for many years got in from our poor estate and kept by him; because they are the property of the poor. If, as we do not think he will, he should at all demur to doing so, you know in detail the facts of the case; you were, indeed, charged at the time in that very Church with the representation of the owner. Explain to him accordingly how matters stand, and admonish him not to keep by him what belongs to St Peter and his poor.

quia Augustino seruo Dei latore praesentium referente cognouimus, de affectu et ueritatis studio qui in uobis est ualde gaudemus et gratias agimus, quia etsi corpore absentes mente tamen et animo nobiscum uos esse monstratis: quippe erga quos caritatem fraternam, ut conuenit, exhibetis. Ut igitur bona quae de uobis praedicauit opinio rerum possit ueritas confirmare, Uergilio fratri et coepiscopo nostro dicite ut pensiones quas prodecessor eius per annos plurimos de patrimoniolo nostro percepit et apud se retinuit, ad nos, quia pauperum res sunt, studeat destinare. Qui si forte aliquo se modo, quod non credimus, excusare uoluerit, uos qui ueritatem ipsam subtilius nostis, reuera qui in ecclesia ipsa tunc tempore illo curam uicedomini gerebatis, qualiter se habeat causa disserite, et ne res sancti Petri et pauperum eius apud se retinere

And if perhaps our people should require it, do not withhold your testimony in the matter, so that for your devotion in deed as well as in will the blessed Apostle Peter, for love of whom you thus act, may give you in return his intercession both here and in the life to come.

We earnestly commend to your Holiness our common son, the presbyter Candidus, to whom we have entrusted the estate.

(4) *To Stephen, Abbot of Lerins.*

We were rejoiced by the account which Augustine, the servant of God, the bearer of these presents, gave us, when he related that you, kind Sir, are, as you should be, on the watch, affirming also that the presbyters and deacons and the whole congregation are living together in unanimity and concord. And because the goodness of the Superior is a wholesome rule to those under them,

debeat inminete. Sed et si fortasse hominibus nostris necesse fuerit, uestrum in causa testimonium non negate, ut tam pro ueritate quam pro uoluntatis uestrae deuotione beatus Petrus Apostolus, cuius amore haec facitis, sua uobis et hic et in futura uita intercessione respondeat. Candidum presbyterum communem filium, cui patrimoniolum ipsum commisimus, sanctitati uestrae magnopere commendamus.

Gregorius *Stephano Abbati Lirinensi.*

Laetos nos relatio Augustini serui Dei praesentium portitoris effecit, quod dilectionem tuam ut oportet uigilantem esse narrauit, denique ut presbyteros et diacones cunctamque congregationem unanimes uiuere ac concordes affirmet. Et quoniam praepositorum bonitas subiectorum salubris est regula,

we pray Almighty God always to set you on fire in good works by the grace of His lovingkindness, and to keep those committed to you from every temptation of the fraud of the devil, and to grant that they may live in charity with you, and in a conversation pleasing to Himself. Because, however, the enemy of mankind never rests from laying wait for good actions, but strives assiduously and cunningly to deceive in every direction souls which serve God, therefore, dearest son, we exhort you to exert your care with watchfulness, and so to keep those committed to you by prayer and prudent heed, that the prowling wolf may find no opportunity to tear; and thus, upon your rendering safe to our God those whom you have received in charge, He may both pay you by His grace the rewards of your toil, and may give you many times over your desires for the life eternal.

The spoons and plates which you despatched have come safely to hand, and we thank your charity;

omnipotentem Dominum deprecamur, ut in bonis te semper operibus gratia suae pietatis accendat, et commissos tibi ab omni diabolicae fraudis temptatione custodiat, et tecum in caritate et placita sibi uiuere conuersatione concedat. Quia ergo humani generis inimicus insidiari bonis actibus non quiescit, sed assidua calliditate hoc nititur ut Deo seruientes animas in qualibet parte decipiat; ideoque, dilectissime fili, hortamur ut sollicitudinem tuam uigilanter exerceas, et ita commissos tibi oratione et cura prouidenti custodias, ut lupus circumiens nullam dilaniandi occasionem inueniat: quatenus dum Deo nostro incolumes quorum suscepisti curam reddideris et praemia labori tuo gratia sua respondeat et tibi aeternae uitae desiderata multiplicet. Cocleares uero et circulos quos direxisti

because you have shown how you love the poor, by sending for their use the articles which they require.

(5) *To Arigius, Patrician of Gaul.*

What goodness, and kindliness, together with the charity which is pleasing to Christ, is conspicuous in you, we have learned by the bringer of these presents, Augustine, the servant of God; and we thank Almighty God, who has bestowed these gifts of His lovingkindness upon you, to make you very praiseworthy among men, and in His own sight—the thing which is of true advantage—glorious. Therefore we pray that He who has bestowed these gifts may multiply them upon you, and may keep you and all yours in His protection, and may so govern the action of your Lordship in this world, that it may profit you both here, and (what is more to be desired) in the life to come. So we

suscepimus et caritati tuae gratias agimus: quia qualiter pauperes diligas ostendisti qui ad usus eorum quae sunt necessaria direxisti.

Gregorius *Arigio Patricio de Gallia.*

Quanta in uobis bonitas, quantaque mansuetudo cum Christo placita caritate resplendeat, latore praesentium Augustino seruo Dei referente comperimus, atque omnipotenti Deo gratias agimus qui haec in uobis pietatis suae dona concessit per quae inter homines ualde laudabiles et ante conspectum ipsius, quod est ueraciter utile, gloriosi possitis existere. Oramus ergo ut haec in uobis qui concessit dona multiplicet et sua uos cum omnibus uestris protectione custodiat, et ita in hoc saeculo actionem gloriae uestrae disponat ut et hic uobis et in futura, quod magis optandum est, uita proficiat.

greet your Lordship with a father's tenderness, and beg that the bringer of these presents, and the servants of God who accompany him, may obtain encouragement from you where they may stand in need of it, so that finding your favour he may be able the better to fulfil, with the Lord's help, the duties laid upon him.

(6) *To the brothers Theoderic and Theodebert, Kings of the Franks.*

Ever since Almighty God adorned your kingdom with orthodoxy in the faith, and made it remarkable among other nations for its integrity in the Christian religion, we have formed great expectations of you, because you desire your subjects to be completely converted to that faith, in which you, their Kings and Lords, yourselves are. And so it has reached us that the English nation, by the mercy of God, desires

Salutantes itaque gloriam uestram paterna dulcedine petimus ut lator praesentium, et serui Dei qui cum eo sunt, uestra in quibus necesse fuerit solacia consequantur, quatenus dum uestrum fauorem inuenerit, iniuncta sibi melius adiuuante Domino ualeat adimplere.

Gregorius *Theoderico et Theodeberto fratribus, Regibus Francorum, a paribus.*

Postquam Deus omnipotens regnum uestrum fidei rectitudine decorauit, et integritate Christianae religionis inter gentes alias fecit esse conspicuum, magnam de uobis materiam praesumendi concepimus, quod subiectos uestros ad eam conuerti fidem per omnia cupiatis, in qua eorum nempe estis reges et domini. Atque ideo peruenit ad nos, Anglorum

earnestly to be converted to the Christian faith, but that the priests in the neighbourhood take no notice, and hang back from kindling the desires of the English by exhortations of their own[1]. To meet this need, therefore, we have arranged for the despatch of Augustine, the servant of God, the bearer of these presents, into those parts, whose zeal and earnestness are well known to us, along with other servants of God. We have also instructed them to take with them some presbyters from the neighbourhood, with whose help they may be able to find out what the English mean, and to assist them by their advice, as far as God may permit, in making up their minds. In order that they may present an effective and suitable appearance in this

gentem ad fidem Christianam, Deo miserante, desideranter uelle conuerti, sed sacerdotes e uicino neglegere, et desideria eorum cessare sua adhortatione succendere. Ob hoc igitur Augustinum seruum Dei praesentium portitorem, cuius zelum et studium bene nobis est cognitum, cum aliis seruis Dei illuc praeuidimus dirigendum. Quibus etiam iniunximus, ut aliquos secum e uicino debeant presbyteros ducere, cum quibus eorum possint mentes agnoscere, et uoluntates admonitione sua, quantum Deus donauerit, adiuuare. In qua re ut efficaces ualeant atque idonei apparere, excellentiam uestram salutantes

[1] This and the following letter are the only indications we have of any movement on the part of the English to call forth Gregory's efforts. It is by no means impossible that there was such a movement, though we have no information with regard to the particular quarter from which it proceeded, or to the form which it took. Evidently Bede knew nothing of it. 'The priests (i.e. bishops) in the neighbourhood' whom Gregory blames, are not the British (or, as Hartmann thinks, the Irish) bishops, but those of Gaul. His commendatory letters to them, here given, contain many hints that the work was not one with which he thought them likely to sympathize.

matter, we beseech your Highnesses (whom we greet with a father's love) that our missionaries may obtain your gracious favour. And because it is for the sake of souls, we beg that your power may defend and aid them, in order that Almighty God, who sees that in His cause you bestow your encouragements with an unstinting mind and with all your might, may direct your interests with His mercy, and after your earthly sovereignty may bring you to the kingdom of heaven.

(7) *To Brunichilda, Queen of the Franks*[1].

The Christianity of your Highness has for a long time been so truly made known to us, that we do not at all doubt of your goodness, but are perfectly sure that in the cause of faith you will go along with us heart and soul, and will abundantly supply the encouragements of

paterna caritate quaesumus, ut hi quos direximus fauoris uestri inuenire gratiam mereantur. Et quia animarum causa est, uestra eos potestas tueatur et adiuuet, ut Deus omnipotens, qui uos in causa sua deuota mente et toto studio solaciari cognoscit, causas uestras sua propitiatione disponat, et post terrenam potestatem ad caelestia uos regna perducat.

Gregorius *Brunichildae Reginae Francorum.*

Excellentiae uestrae Christianitas ita nobis ueraciter olim innotuit, ut de bonitate eius nullatenus dubitemus, sed magis certum modis omnibus teneamus, quia in causa fidei deuote et studiose concurrat, et religiosae sinceritatis suae solacia

[1] This wicked woman, of whom Gregory always makes the best, was aunt by marriage to Bertha, Queen of Kent.

your religious sincerity. With good confidence, therefore, we greet you with a father's love, and inform you that it has reached us, that the English nation, by God's favour, desires to become Christian, but that the priests who are in the neighbourhood have no pastoral solicitude for them. Lest their souls should perish in eternal damnation, we have taken pains to despatch thither the bearer of these presents, Augustine, a servant of God, whose zeal and earnestness is well known to us, along with other servants of God, in order that by their agency we might ascertain more fully the minds of the English, and might to the best of our power, with your cooperation, take thought for their conversion. We have also instructed them to take with them presbyters from the neighbourhood with a view to this work. Your Highness is well accustomed to be inclined to good works; and both for our asking, and in consideration of the fear of God, we trust that you will graciously

copiosissime subministret. Ex qua re bene confidentes paterna caritate salutantes indicamus ad nos peruenisse, Anglorum gentem, Deo annuente, uelle fieri Christianam, sed sacerdotes, qui in uicino sunt, pastoralem erga eos sollicitudinem non habere. Quorum ne animae in aeterna damnatione ualeant deperire, curae nobis fuit praesentium portitorem Augustinum seruum Dei, cuius zelum et studium bene nobis est cognitum, cum aliis seruis Dei illic dirigere, ut per eos ipsorum potuissemus uoluntates addiscere, et de eorum conuersione, uobis quoque annitentibus, in quantum est possibile, cogitare. Quibus etiam iniunximus, ut ad agenda haec e uicino secum debeant presbyteros ducere. Excellentia ergo uestra, quae prona in bonis esse consueuit operibus, tam pro nostra petitione, quam etiam diuini timoris consideratione, eum

consider Augustine as in every way commended to you, and that you will strenuously give him the favour of your protection, and bestow upon his work the aid of your patronage; and in order that he may obtain his recompense to the fullest extent, we beg that you will see that under your protection he reaches the English nation in safety; so that our God, who in this world has adorned you with good qualities pleasing to Him, may make you also to give thanks in eternal rest with His saints.

VI. *The Arrival of Augustine in England.*

(Bede I. xxv.)

Fortified therefore by the encouragement of the blessed father Gregory, Augustine, with the servants of Christ who accompanied him, returned to the work of the Word; and he reached Britain. There was at that time a very powerful king in Kent, named Ethelbert, who had extended the bounds of his empire as far as to

dignetur habere in omnibus commendatum, atque ei tuitionis suae gratiam uehementer impendat, et labori eius patrocinii sui ferat auxilium: et ut plenissime possit habere mercedem, ad suprascriptam Anglorum gentem sua tuitione securum ire prouideat: quatenus Deus noster, qui in hoc uos saeculo bonis sibi placitis decorauit, idem et in aeterna requie cum suis uos sanctis faciat gratulari.

Roboratus ergo confirmatione beati patris Gregorii, Augustinus cum famulis Christi, qui erant cum eo, rediit in opus uerbi, peruenitque Brittaniam. Erat eo tempore rex Aedilberct in Cantia potentissimus, qui ad confinium usque Humbrae

the great river Humber, which divides the Southern English from the Northern[1]. Upon the eastern coast of Kent, there is an island, called Thanet, of considerable size,—that is to say, according to the usual English reckoning, of six hundred families,—separated from the mainland by the river Wantsome, which is about three furlongs broad and only to be crossed in two places: it pushes both heads into the sea[2]. Upon this island Augustine, the servant of the Lord, came ashore[3], and his companions, said to have numbered about forty men. They had taken, as they were bidden by the blessed Pope Gregory, interpreters of Frank nationality[4]; and

fluminis maximi, quo meridiani et septentrionales Anglorum populi dirimuntur, fines imperii tetenderat. Est autem ad orientalem Cantiae plagam Tanatos insula non modica, id est magnitudinis iuxta consuetudinem aestimationis Anglorum, familiarum DC^{rum}, quam a continenti terra secernit fluuius Uantsumu, qui est latitudinis circiter trium stadiorum, et duobus tantum in locis est transmeabilis; utrumque enim caput protendit in mare. In hac ergo adplicuit seruus Domini Augustinus, et socii eius, uiri, ut ferunt, ferme XL. Acceperunt autem, praecipiente beato papa Gregorio, de gente Francorum

[1] Not that Ethelbert was actually king over all that territory, but was recognised as Bretwalda, or overlord, by the other potentates.

[2] This difficult expression seems intended to explain how a river could separate an island from the mainland.

[3] Either at Ebbsfleet or at Richborough; see Dissertation III.

[4] See the letters of Gregory to Theoderic and Theodebert, and to Brunichilda, given above. Probably it is not intended to imply that the language of the Jutes of Kent and that of the Franks of Gaul were nearly identical, but that presumably some clergymen could be found on the Gaulish side of the channel who had learned the language of their island neighbours.

Augustine sent to Ethelbert informing him that he was come from Rome, and that he brought the best of messages, which promised with absolute certainty to those who obeyed it eternal joys in heaven, and that they should reign without end with the living and true God. When Ethelbert heard it, he ordered them to remain in the island to which they had gone, and necessaries to be supplied to them until he saw what to do with them. For it was not the first time that he had heard of the Christian religion; because in fact he had a Christian wife, of the royal family of the Franks, by name Bertha[1]; who had been given to him by her parents on the understanding that she should be allowed to maintain without interference the system of her faith and religion, as well as a bishop named Liudhard[2], whom they had given her as a helper of her faith.

interpretes; et mittens ad Aedilberctum mandauit se uenisse de Roma, ac nuntium ferre optimum, qui sibi obtemperantibus aeterna in caelis gaudia, et regnum sine fine cum Deo uiuo et uero futurum sine ulla dubietate promitteret. Qui, haec audiens, manere illos in ea, quam adierant, insula, et eis necessaria ministrari, donec uideret, quid eis faceret, iussit. Nam et antea fama ad eum Christianae religionis peruenerat, utpote qui et uxorem habebat Christianam de gente Francorum regia, uocabulo Bercta; quam ea condicione a parentibus acceperat, ut ritum fidei ac religionis suae cum episcopo, quem ei adiutorem fidei dederant, nomine Liudhardo, inuiolatum seruare licentiam haberet.

[1] She was the daughter of Charibert, King of Paris (see Gregory of Tours iv. 26).

[2] He was Bishop of Senlis, according to Thorn, col. 1767.

Accordingly, after some days, the King came to the island; and taking his seat in the open air he ordered Augustine with his companions to come and confer with him there[1]. He had been careful not to let them approach him in any house, in obedience to an old saw, for fear that if they had any witchcraft, they might, on their entrance, get the better of him and cheat him. But they, endowed with Divine power, not with that of devils, came carrying as a standard a silver cross, and a picture of our Lord and Saviour painted on a panel; and as they came they sang litanies entreating the Lord for their own eternal salvation and that of those for whom and to whom they were come. And when at the King's bidding they sat and preached the word of life to him and to all his courtiers present[2], the King

Post dies ergo uenit ad insulam rex, et residens sub diuo, iussit Augustinum cum sociis ad suum ibidem aduenire colloquium. Cauerat enim, ne in aliquam domum ad se introirent, uetere usus augurio, ne superuentu suo, siquid malificae artis habuissent, eum superando deciperent. At illi non daemonica, sed diuina uirtute praediti, ueniebant crucem pro uexillo ferentes argenteam, et imaginem Domini Saluatoris in tabula depictam, laetaniasque canentes pro sua simul et eorum, propter quos et ad quos uenerant, salute aeterna, Domino supplicabant. Cumque ad iussionem regis residentes uerbum ei uitae una cum omnibus, qui aderant, eius comitibus

[1] If the first conference between Ethelbert and Augustine took place at Richborough, as is said, it can only be because Richborough was regarded as being in Thanet.

[2] According to Aelfric *Hom.* ii. 129, Augustine declared 'how the merciful Saviour with His own sufferings redeemed this guilty world, and opened an entrance into the kingdom of heaven to faithful men.'

replied, saying: "They are certainly beautiful words and promises that you bring; but because they are new and unproved, I cannot give my adhesion to them and abandon what I have so long held in common with the whole English race. But as you are strangers and have come a long way to this country, and, unless my observation deceives me, your desire was to impart to us also what you yourselves believed to be true and good, we do not wish to be unkind to you; on the contrary, we make a point of welcoming you with friendly hospitality, and of supplying you with what you need for your maintenance; and we put no hindrance in the way of your attaching all the adherents you can to your religious faith by means of your preaching." Accordingly he gave them a lodging in the city of Canterbury[1], which was the capital of his whole empire;

praedicarent, respondit ille dicens: 'Pulchra sunt quidem uerba et promissa, quae adfertis; sed quia noua sunt et incerta, non his possum adsensum tribuere, relictis eis, quae tanto tempore cum omni Anglorum gente seruaui. Uerum quia de longe huc peregrini uenistis, et, ut ego mihi uideor perspexisse, ea, quae uos uera et optima credebatis, nobis quoque communicare desiderastis, nolumus molesti esse uobis; quin potius benigno uos hospitio recipere, et, quae uictui sunt uestro necessaria, ministrare curamus; nec prohibemus, quin omnes, quos potestis, fidei uestrae religionis praedicando societis.' Dedit ergo eis mansionem in ciuitate Doruuernensi, quae imperii sui totius erat metropolis, eisque, ut promiserat, cum administratione

[1] Thorn (col. 1759) says it was 'in the parish of St Alphege, on the other side of Palace Street, towards the north.' He adds that a place called Stablegate, formerly a royal place of pagan worship, was pointed out as their lodging. No such name is known there now.

and, as he had promised, he supplied their bodily wants, and did not withhold from them leave to preach. The story goes, that, as they approached the city, according to their custom, with the holy Cross and the picture of the great King, our Lord Jesus Christ, they intoned in unison this litany: "We beseech Thee, O Lord, in all Thy mercy, that Thy fury and Thine anger may be taken away from this city, and from Thy holy house; because we have sinned. Alleluia[1]."

VII. *The Conversion of Ethelbert.*

(Bede I. xxvi.)

As soon as they had entered upon the lodging assigned to them, they began to imitate the apostolic life of the early Church; serving God with continual prayers, watchings, and fastings; preaching the word of

uictus temporalis licentiam quoque praedicandi non abstulit. Fertur autem, quia adpropinquantes ciuitati, more suo cum cruce sancta et imagine magni regis Domini nostri Iesu Christi hanc laetaniam consona uoce modularentur: 'Deprecamur te, Domine, in omni misericordia tua, ut auferatur furor tuus et ira tua a ciuitate ista, et de domo sancta tua, quoniam peccauimus. Alleluia.'

At ubi datam sibi mansionem intrauerant, coeperunt apostolicam primitiuae ecclesiae uitam imitari; orationibus uidelicet assiduis, uigiliis ac ieiuniis seruiendo, uerbum uitae,

[1] See Dissertation IV. p. 235.

life to those whom they could reach ; putting away all the things of this world as no concern of theirs ; receiving from those whom they were teaching nothing but what was thought necessary for their life ; themselves in all points living in accordance with what they taught, and having a mind ready to suffer any adversities, and even to die, for the truth which they preached. To make a long story short, a good number believed and were baptized, wondering at their simple and innocent lives, and at the charm of their heavenly doctrine. There was near the city, on the eastern side, a church erected in old days, while the Romans were still in Britain, in honour of St Martin, where the Queen, who was (as we have said) a Christian, was accustomed to pray. In this church the missionaries also at the outset assembled, to sing, to pray, to celebrate their masses, to preach, and to baptize ; until, upon the King's conversion to the faith,

quibus poterant, praedicando, cuncta huius mundi uelut aliena spernendo, ea tantum, quae uictui necessaria uidebantur, ab eis, quos docebant, accipiendo, secundum ea, quae docebant, ipsi per omnia uiuendo, et paratum ad patiendum aduersa quaeque, uel etiam moriendum pro ea, quam praedicabant, ueritate animum habendo. Quid mora? Crediderunt nonnulli et baptizabantur, mirantes simplicitatem innocentis uitae, ac dulcedinem doctrinae eorum caelestis. Erat autem prope ipsam ciuitatem ad orientem ecclesia in honorem sancti Martini antiquitus facta, dum adhuc Romani Brittaniam incolerent, in qua regina, quam Christianam fuisse praediximus, orare consuerat. In hac ergo et ipsi primo conuenire, psallere, orare, missas facere, praedicare, et baptizare coeperunt; donec, rege ad fidem conuerso, maiorem praedicandi per omnia, et ecclesias fabricandi uel restaurandi licentiam acciperent.

they received a wider permission to preach at large, and to build and restore churches.

Among the rest the King himself was attracted by the pure life of the holy men, and by their attractive promises, the truth of which they had confirmed by showing many miracles. He believed and was baptized[1]. Thereupon, larger numbers began to congregate day by day to hear the word, and forsook the heathen system to attach themselves as believers to the unity of Christ's holy Church. Thankful as the King was at their faith and conversion, it is said that he would compel no man to embrace Christianity; only he met believers with a specially close affection, as being fellow-citizens with him in the kingdom of heaven; for he had learned from the teachers to whom he owed his own salvation, that the service of Christ must be free, and not of constraint. He was not long before he presented those teachers with a place of settlement suitable to their

At ubi ipse etiam inter alios delectatus uita mundissima sanctorum, et promissis eorum suauissimis, quae uera esse miraculorum quoque multorum ostensione firmauerant, credens baptizatus est, coepere plures cotidie ad audiendum uerbum confluere, ac, relicto gentilitatis ritu, unitati se sanctae Christi ecclesiae credendo sociare. Quorum fidei et conuersioni ita congratulatus esse rex perhibetur, ut nullum tamen cogeret ad Christianismum; sed tantummodo credentes artiori dilectione, quasi conciues sibi regni caelestis, amplecteretur. Didicerat enim a doctoribus auctoribusque suae salutis seruitium Christi uoluntarium, non coacticium esse debere. Nec distulit, quin etiam ipsis doctoribus suis locum sedis eorum gradui congruum

[1] The traditional date is given by Thorn as Whitsunday, which was in 597, June 2.

condition in his capital of Canterbury, and conferred upon them possessions of various kinds which they required.

VIII. *Augustine's Consecration.*

(Bede I. xxvii.)

Meanwhile the man of the Lord, Augustine, went to Arles; and in accordance with instructions received from the holy father Gregory, was consecrated by Aetherius[1], Archbishop of that city, to be Archbishop of the English nation; and upon his return to Britain he immediately despatched the presbyter Lawrence and the monk Peter to Rome, to inform the blessed pontiff Gregory that the English nation had adopted the Christian faith, and that he had been made bishop. At the same time he craved his judgment upon certain topics which appeared to be important.

in Doruuerni metropoli sua donaret, simul et necessarias in diuersis speciebus possessiones conferret.

Interea uir Domini Augustinus uenit Arelas, et ab archiepiscopo eiusdem ciuitatis Aetherio, iuxta quod iussa sancti patris Gregorii acceperant, archiepiscopus genti Anglorum ordinatus est; reuersusque Brittaniam misit continuo Romam Laurentium presbyterum et Petrum monachum, qui beato pontifici Gregorio gentem Anglorum fidem Christi suscepisse, ac se episcopum factum esse referrent; simul et de eis, quae necessariae uidebantur, quaestionibus eius consulta flagitans.

[1] This is a mistake. The name should be Vergilius; cf. p. 24. It seems a curious thing that Augustine should not have sent messengers from Arles, instead of waiting till his return to England.

IX. *Letters of Gregory relating to the first successes of the English Mission.*

(1) *To Eulogius, Bishop of Alexandria.*

(Epist. lib. VIII. ind. i. num. 30.)

As you not only do good yourself, but rejoice to hear of it in others, I repay your favour in kind, and tell you a tale not unlike your own. The English race, situated in the far corner of the world, has hitherto remained in unbelief, worshipping stocks and stones; but aided by your prayers I made up my mind (it was God who prompted me) to send a monk of my own monastery to them to preach[1]. With my leave, he was made a bishop by the bishops of Germany[2], and, with

Gregorius *Eulogio Episcopo Alexandrino.*

Sed quoniam uere in bonis quae agitis accrescit quod et aliis congaudetis, uestrae uobis gratiae uicem reddo et non dissimilia nuntio, quia dum gens Anglorum in mundi angulo posita in cultu lignorum ac lapidum perfida nunc usque remaneret, ex uestrae mihi orationis adiutorio placuit ut ad eam monasterii mei monachum in praedicationem transmittere Deo auctore debuissem. Qui data a me licentia a Germaniarum

[1] Augustine had been *praepositus*, or prior, of the monastery of St Andrew on the Caelian Hill, founded by St Gregory (Paul. Diac. *Vit. Greg.* § 4). See the letter to Syagrius on p. 46.

[2] A very loose description of the province of Arles, which was in the kingdom of Burgundy. But the Benedictine editors refer to Apoll. Sidon. v. 7, who describes the province of Lyons, on account of the German origin of the Burgundians, as *Lugdunensis Germania.*

their encouragement, reached that nation at the end of the world. And now letters have just arrived telling us of his safety and of his work. They show that he and those who were sent out with him shine amongst that nation with such miracles that they seem to imitate the mighty works of the Apostles in the signs which they display. And at Christmas last more than ten thousand English people, we are informed, were baptized by our brother and fellow-bishop. I tell you this that you may know not only what your words are doing at Alexandria, but also what your prayers are doing at the world's end. For your prayers are where you are not; your holy works are evident where you are.

episcopis episcopus factus cum eorum quoque solaciis ad praedictam gentem in fine mundi perductus est, et iam nunc de eius salute et opere ad nos scripta peruenerunt, quia tantis miraculis uel ipse uel hi qui cum eo transmissi sunt, in gente eadem coruscant, ut Apostolorum uirtutes in signis quae exhibent imitari uideantur. In solemnitate autem Dominicae Natiuitatis quae hac prima indictione transacta est plus quam decem millia Angli ab eodem nunciati sunt fratre et coepiscopo nostro baptizari. Quod idcirco narraui ut cognoscatis quid in Alexandrino populo loquendo et quid in mundi finibus agitis orando. Uestrae enim orationes sunt in eo loco ubi non estis, quorum operationes sanctae monstrantur in eo loco in quo estis.

(2) *To Syagrius, Bishop of Autun.*

(Epist. lib. IX. ind. ii. num. 108.)

Because in the missionary work which, after long thought, I have endeavoured to expend upon the English nation by the agency of Augustine, at that time prior of my monastery, now my brother and fellow-bishop, we have found you, as was meet, so painstaking and earnest, and such a help in everything as to make me greatly indebted to you in this matter, brother;—prompted by this consideration, not to seem ungrateful towards you, I could not on any account bear to delay your brotherly request. Therefore in accordance with your desire and petition, we have determined with God's assistance that you should be distinguished by the use of the pall[1], which you may wear within your own church, at the sacred solemnity of the celebration of the mass and not

Gregorius *Syagrio Episcopo Augustodensi.*

Quia igitur in praedicationis opere quam diu cogitans Anglorum genti per Augustinum tunc monasterii mei praepositum, nunc fratrem et coepiscopum nostrum, impendere studui, ita sollicitum atque deuotum adiutoremque in omnibus te, ut oportuit, fuisse cognouimus ut magnum me sibi fraternitas tua hac de re faceret debitorem. Tantae rei consideratione commonitus, ne infructuosus erga te uidere existere, fraternitatis tuae petitionem nulla pertuli ratione postponere. Proinde secundum postulationis tuae desiderium pallii te usu quod intra ecclesiam tuam habere debeas ad sacra tantum missarum

[1] As this passage shows, the pall was an honorary compliment, and not a mark of jurisdiction.

otherwise[1]...And lest the grant of that vestment should seem to be an empty grant, we have resolved at the same time to concede that (always reserving the place and honour of the metropolitan) the Church of the city of Autun, over which it has pleased Almighty God to set you, should be next after that of Lyons, and should by our authoritative permission maintain that rank and position, while the rest of the bishops are by our decree to take their proper places whether for sitting in council, or signing, or whatsoever it may be, according to seniority of consecration.

(3) *To Brunichilda.*

(Epist. lib. IX. ind. ii. num. 11.)

We have heard what Syagrius has done in the case of our brother Augustine, and we bless our Redeemer,

sollemnia celebranda Deo auctore praeuidimus honorandum.... Cuius ne indumenti munificentiam nudam uideamur quodammodo contulisse, hoc etiam pariter prospeximus concedendum ut metropolitae suo per omnia loco et honore seruato, ecclesia ciuitatis Augustodunae cui omnipotens Deus praeesse te uoluit, post Lugdunensem ecclesiam esse debeat et hunc sibi locum et ordinem ex nostrae auctoritatis indulgentia uindicare; ceteros uero episcopos secundum ordinationis suae tempus siue ad considendum in concilio, siue ad subscribendum uel in qualibet alia re sua attendere loca decernimus.

Gregorius *Brunichildae.*

Et quid in fratre nostro Augustino fecerit (Syagrius) audientes, Redemptorem nostrum benedicimus, quia eum

[1] The words omitted refer to an abuse in his neighbourhood which Syagrius was to aid in reforming.

because we perceive that he fulfils the name of a priest by his works....How your Highness has yourself behaved towards our brother and fellow-bishop Augustine, and what charity you have by God's inspiration bestowed upon him, we have learned by the accounts of several of the faithful; for which we thank you, and pray the mercy of Divine power both to keep you under its protection here, and, after many years, to make you reign in eternal life as you do here among men.

(4) *To Augustine, Bishop of the English.*

(Epist. lib. xi. ind. iv. num. 28 and in part Bede i. xxxi.)

Glory to God in the highest, and in earth peace to men of goodwill; because the grain of corn has died, falling into the earth, and has borne much fruit, that it might not reign alone in heaven. By its death we live, by its weakness we are strengthened, by its suffering we

sacerdotis nomen etiam operibus implere sentimus....Qualiter autem se excellentia uestra erga fratrem et coepiscopum nostrum Augustinum exhibuerit quantamque illi sibi Deo aspirante caritatem impenderit, diuersorum fidelium relatione cognouimus, pro quo gratias referentes diuinæ potentiae misericordiam deprecamur ut et hic uos sua protectione custodiat, et sicut inter homines ita quoque et post multorum annorum tempora in aeterna faciat uita regnare.

Gregorius *Augustino Episcopo Anglorum.*

Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonae uoluntatis: quia granum frumenti mortuum cadens in terram multum fructum attulit, ne solum regnaret in caelo, cuius morte uiuimus, cuius infirmitate roboramur, cuius passione a passione

are delivered from suffering, by its love we seek brethren in Britain whom we knew not, by its gift we find those whom we sought without knowing. Who here could express the gladness which has arisen in the hearts of all the faithful, that the English nation, by the operation of the grace of Almighty God and by your labours, brother, has had the darkness of error driven away, and has had the light of the holy faith shed upon it; that now with right devotion it tramples on the idols under which it formerly crouched in foolish fear; that it submits to Almighty God with a pure heart; that it is restrained by the rules of the holy preaching from falling into works of evil; that it lies low in soul before the precepts of God, and is exalted in understanding; that it humbles itself even to the earth in prayer, that in mind it may not grovel upon the earth? Whose work is this but His who says, 'My Father worketh hitherto, and I work';—who in order to shew that He converts

eripimur, cuius amore in Britannia fratres quaerimus quos ignorabamus, cuius munere quos nescientes quaerebamus inuenimus. Quis autem narrare hic sufficiat, quanta laetitia in omnium corde fidelium fuerit exorta, quod gens Anglorum, operante omnipotentis Dei gratia, et tua fraternitate laborante, expulsis errorum tenebris, sanctae fidei luce perfusa est; quod deuotione integerrima iam calcat idola quibus prius uesano timore subiacebat, quod omnipotenti Deo puro corde substernitur, quod a praui operis lapsibus sanctae praedicationis regulis ligatur, quod praeceptis diuinis animo subiacet et intellectu subleuatur, quod usque ad terram se in oratione humiliat, ne mente iaceat in terra? Cuius hoc opus est, nisi eius qui ait, 'Pater meus usque nunc operatur, et ego operor'? Qui ut mundum ostenderet non sapientia hominum sed sua se

the world not by the wisdom of men, but by His own power, chose illiterate men for His preachers whom He sent into the world; and who now does the same, because He has vouchsafed to work mighty things among the English people by means of men who are weak?

But that heavenly gift, my dearest brother, contains an element which, amidst the great joy, ought to cause an exceeding dread; for I know that Almighty God has shown great miracles through you, beloved, in the nation which He has been pleased to choose. That heavenly gift must therefore make you rejoice with fear, and fear with rejoicing. You must rejoice, because the souls of the English are drawn by the outward miracles to inward grace; but you must fear lest amidst the signs which are done the weak soul should exalt itself presumptuously, and inwardly through vain glory fall by the very thing which externally raises it in honour. For we must remember that when the disciples returned

uirtute conuertere, praedicatores suos, quos in mundum misit, sine litteris elegit, hoc etiam modo faciens, quia in Anglorum gente fortia dignatus est per infirmos operari.

Sed est in isto dono caelesti, frater carissime, quod cum magno gaudio uehementissime debeat formidari: scio enim quia omnipotens Deus per dilectionem tuam in gente quam eligi uoluit magna miracula ostendit. Unde necesse est, ut de eodem dono caelesti et timendo gaudeas et gaudendo pertimescas. Gaudeas uidelicet, quia Anglorum animae per exteriora miracula ad interiorem gratiam pertrahuntur: pertimescas uero, ne inter signa quae fiunt infirmus animus in sui praesumptione se eleuet, ut unde foras in honore attollitur inde per inanem gloriam intus cadat. Meminisse etenim

with joy from their preaching, and said to the heavenly Master, 'Lord, the devils are subject to us in Thy name,' they were immediately told, 'Rejoice not at this, but rather rejoice because your names are written in heaven.' Those who rejoiced in the miracles had set their minds upon a private and temporal gladness; but they were recalled from the private gladness to a social one, from a temporal to the eternal, when it was said to them, 'In this rejoice, because your names are written in heaven.' For not all the elect work miracles; nevertheless the names of them all are kept registered in heaven. For the disciples of the truth should have no joy but in that good which they possess in common with all, and in which there is no end to their gladness.

It remains therefore, dearest brother, that, amidst the outward things which by the operation of God you perform, you should always judge yourself narrowly

debemus, quod discipuli cum gaudio a praedicatione redeuntes, dum caelesti Magistro dicerent: 'Domine in nomine tuo daemonia nobis subiecta sunt:' protinus audierunt: 'nolite gaudere super hoc, sed potius gaudete, quia nomina uestra scripta sunt in caelo.' In priuata enim et temporali laetitia mentem posuerant, qui de miraculis gaudebant. Sed de priuata ad communem, de temporali ad aeternam laetitiam reuocantur, quibus dicitur: 'in hoc gaudete, quia nomina uestra scripta sunt in caelo.' Non enim omnes electi miracula faciunt, sed tamen eorum omnium nomina in caelo tenentur adscripta. Ueritatis enim discipulis esse gaudium non debet, nisi de eo bono quod commune cum omnibus habent, et in quo finem laetitiae non habent.

Restat itaque, frater carissime, ut inter ea, quae operante Deo exterius facis, semper te interius subtiliter iudices, ac

within, and narrowly discern both what you are yourself, and what grace there is in that nation, for whose conversion you have received the gifts of working of signs; and you should always recall to mind any offences which you remember to have committed against our Maker by word or deed, that the memory of your guilt may crush the risings of boastfulness in your heart; and whatever power of working signs you may receive or have already received, you must reckon that these things are bestowed, not on you, but on those for whose weal they are conferred upon you.

While thinking on these things, it recurs to the mind, what happened to one servant of God whose election was most marked. Moses, as you, my brother, know, wrought wonderful signs in Egypt, when he was bringing God's people out of Egypt. On Mount Sinai after fasting forty days and nights he received the tables of the law, amidst flashing thunders; while all the people

subtiliter intellegas et temetipsum qui sis, et quanta sit in eadem gente gratia, pro cuius conuersione etiam faciendorum signorum dona percepisti. Et si quando te Creatori nostro seu per linguam siue per opera reminisceris deliquisse, semper haec ad memoriam reuoces, ut surgentem cordis gloriam memoria reatus premat. Et quidquid de faciendis signis acceperis uel accepisti, haec non tibi sed illis deputes donata, pro quorum tibi salute collata sunt.

Occurrit autem menti ista cogitanti, quid de uno Dei famulo actum sit, etiam egregie electo. Certe Moyses, dum Dei populum ex Aegypto educeret, mira, sicut tua fraternitas nouit, signa in Aegypto operatus est. In Sina monte quadraginta diebus et noctibus ieiunans legis tabulas accepit, inter coruscos tonitruos, pertimescente omni populo omnipotentis

were terrified, he alone in the service of Almighty God held communion with Him in familiar conversation; he opened the Red Sea; he had the pillar of cloud for his guide on the way; he laid down manna from heaven for the people when they hungered; when they desired flesh, he miraculously supplied them in the wilderness to their utmost repletion. But when in a time of drought they came to the rock, he distrusted, and doubted whether he could bring water out of it, though, when the Lord commanded him, he smote it and opened a flow of waters. Again, how many miracles he wrought after this for 38 years in the wilderness, who could count up or examine? Whenever a doubtful question had troubled his soul, he had recourse to the tabernacle and sought the Lord in secret, and God spake to him, and he was straightway instructed in the matter. When the Lord was wroth with the people, he appeased Him by his mediatory prayer; when men rose up in pride and

Dei seruitio solus familiari etiam collocutione coniunctus est, rubrum mare aperuit, in itinere ducem habuit nubis columnam, esurienti populo manna de caelo deposuit, carnes desiderantibus usque ad satietatem nimiam in eremo per miraculum ministrauit. Sed cum iam sitis tempore ad petram uentum fuisset, diffisus est, seque de eadem aquam educere posse dubitauit, quam iubente Domino percussit atque aquas effluentes aperuit. Quanta autem post haec per triginta et octo annos in deserto miracula fecerit, quis enumerare, quis inuestigare ualeat? Quotiens res dubia animum pulsasset, recurrens ad tabernaculum secreto Dominum requirebat, atque de ea protinus Deo loquente docebatur. Iratum populo Dominum placabat suae precis interuentione, surgentes in superbia atque in

made seditious discord, he swallowed them up in the yawning mouth of the earth; he overthrew the enemy in victories; he showed signs to his own people. But when they came to the land of promise, he was called up into the mountain, and heard of the fault which, as I have said, he had committed 38 years before, because he doubted about the bringing forth of the water; and he recognised that it was because of this that he could not enter the land of promise. It must make us think how the judgment of Almighty God is to be feared, who did so many signs by His servant, and yet kept his fault such a long time in remembrance. Therefore, dearest brother, if we see that Moses after his miracles died for his fault, though we know him to have been especially chosen of Almighty God, with what fear ought we to tremble who do not yet know whether we are chosen or not?

Why need I speak of miracles done by rejected men,

discordia dissidentes dehiscentis terrae hiatibus absorbebat, uictoriis premebat hostes, signa monstrabat ciuibus. Sed cum iam ad repromissionis terram uentum fuisset, uocatus in montem est, et quam culpam ante annos triginta, ut dixi, et octo fecerat, audiuit: quia de educenda aqua dubitauit. Et propter hoc quia terram repromissionis intrare non posset agnouit. Qua in re considerandum nobis est, quam timendum sit omnipotentis Dei iudicium, qui per illum famulum suum tot signa faciebat, cuius culpam tam longo tempore adhuc seruabat in cogitatione. Igitur, frater carissime, si et illum agnoscimus post signa pro culpa mortuum, quem omnipotenti Deo nouimus praecipue electum, quanto nos debemus metu contremiscere, qui necdum adhuc nouimus si electi sumus?

De reproborum uero miraculis quid dicere debeo, cum tua

when you, brother, know well what the Truth says in the Gospel, 'Many shall say to Me in that day, Lord, we have prophesied in Thy name, and in Thy name have cast out devils, and in Thy name have done many wonderful works: but I will say to them, I know not who ye are; depart from Me, all ye workers of iniquity'? The soul therefore must be much kept down amidst signs and miracles, lest peradventure it should seek in these its own glory, and should exult in the private joy of its own exaltation. By such signs we must seek the gain of souls, and His glory by whose power those signs are performed. There is one sign given us by the Lord, in which we may heartily rejoice, and by which we may perceive in ourselves the glory of election: it is where He says, 'In this shall it be known that ye are My disciples, if ye have love one toward another.' This was the sign which the prophet desired, when he said,

bene fraternitas nouerit quid in euangelio ueritas dicit: 'multi uenient in illa die dicentes mihi: Domine, in nomine tuo prophetauimus, et in nomine tuo daemonia eiecimus, et in tuo nomine uirtutes multas fecimus. Sed dicam illis, quia nescio qui estis; recedite a me omnes operarii iniquitatis!' Ualde ergo premendus est animus inter signa et miracula, ne fortassis in his propriam gloriam quaerat, et priuato suae exultationis gaudio exultet. Per signa enim animarum lucra quaerenda sunt, et illius gloria, cuius uirtute ipsa eadem signa geruntur. Unum uero Dominus nobis signum dedit, de quo et uehementer gaudere et electionis gloriam in nobis possimus agnoscere, dicens: 'in hoc scietur quia mei discipuli estis, si dilectionem habueritis ad inuicem.' Quod signum propheta requirebat, cum diceret: 'fac mecum, Domine, signum in bonum, ut

'Shew some sign upon me, O Lord, for good, that they who hate me may see it and be ashamed.'

I say these things because I desire to prostrate the soul of my hearer in humility. But that very humility may have a confidence of its own. For I, the sinner, have a most sure hope, that by the grace of our Almighty Creator and Redeemer, our God and Lord Jesus Christ, your sins are already forgiven, and that you have been elected expressly that through you the sins of others may be forgiven, and that you will not have to grieve over any guilt in the future, who are endeavouring by the conversion of many to make joy in heaven. For that Maker and Redeemer of ours, when speaking of a man's repentance, says, 'Verily I say unto you, there shall be more joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth than over ninety-and-nine just persons who need no repentance.' And if there is great joy in heaven over a single penitent, what joy do we

uideant qui oderunt me, et confundantur.' Haec autem dico, quia auditoris mei animum in humilitate sternere cupio. Sed ipsa tua humilitas habeat fiduciam suam. Nam peccator ego spem certissimam teneo, quia per omnipotentis creatoris ac redemptoris nostri Dei et Domini Iesu Christi gratiam iam peccata tua dimissa sunt, et idcirco electus es, ut per te dimittantur aliena, nec habebis luctum de quolibet reatu in posterum, qui de multorum conuersione gaudium conaris facere in caelo. Idem uero conditor et redemptor noster, cum de paenitentia hominis loqueretur, ait: 'ita dico uobis, maius gaudium erit in caelo super uno peccatore paenitentiam agente, quam super nonaginta nouem iustis, quibus non opus est paenitentia.' Et si de uno paenitente grande fit gaudium in caelo, quale gaudium factum credimus de tanto populo a

suppose is made over the conversion of so great a people from its error, which has come to the faith and has condemned in penitence the evil things which it did? In this joy, then, of heaven and the angels, let us repeat those words of the angels which we used before. Let us say, let us all say, 'Glory to God in the highest, and in earth peace to men of goodwill.'

(5) *To Bertha, Queen of the English.*

(Epist. lib. xi. ind. iv. num. 29.)

He who wishes after enjoying power on earth to obtain the glory of the heavenly kingdom, must labour the more earnestly to make gains for his Creator, so that he may be able to climb to the things he desires by the staircase of his own action. This we rejoice to hear that you have done. Our beloved son the presbyter Lawrence and the monk Peter have informed us on their return, what you, illustrious Lady, have been to our most reverend brother and fellow-bishop Augustine,

suo errore conuerso, qui ad fidem ueniens mala quae egit paenitendo damnauit? In hoc itaque caeli et angelorum gaudio repetamus ipsas, quas praediximus, uoces angelorum. Dicamus igitur, dicamus omnes: 'gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonae uoluntatis.'

Gregorius *Berthae Reginae Anglorum.*

Qui post terrenam potestatem regni caelestis gloriam cupit acquirere, ad faciendum lucrum creatori suo debet enixius laborare, ut ad ea, quae desiderat, operationis suae gradibus possit ascendere, sicut uos fecisse gaudemus. Remeantes igitur dilectissimus filius noster Laurentius presbyter et Petrus monachus, qualis erga reuerendissimum fratrem et coepiscopum

and what encouragements and what charity you have bestowed upon them. And we bless Almighty God, who has graciously vouchsafed to reserve the conversion of the English nation for your reward. For as He kindled the hearts of the Romans towards the Christian faith by means of the ever memorable Helen, mother of the most religious emperor Constantine, so we trust that His mercy is working through your earnestness, illustrious Lady, upon the English race. And indeed it was your duty this long time past, by the excellence of your prudence, like a true Christian, to have predisposed the mind of our illustrious son, your consort, to follow the faith which you cherish, for the salvation of his kingdom and of his soul; so that for him, and through him for the conversion of the whole nation, there might arise for you a worthy recompense in the joys of heaven. For since you, illustrious Lady, are, as I said, furnished with right faith, and are also instructed

nostrum Augustinum gloria uestra extiterit, quantaque illis solacia uel qualem caritatem impenderit, retulerunt. Et omnipotentem Deum benediximus, qui conuersionem gentis Anglorum mercedi uestrae dignatus est propitius reseruare. Nam sicut per recordandae memoriae Helenam matrem piissimi Constantini imperatoris ad Christianam fidem corda Romanorum accendit, ita et per gloriae uestrae studium in Anglorum gentem eius misericordiam confidimus operari. Et quidem iamdudum gloriosi filii nostri coniugis uestri animos prudentiae uestrae bono, sicut reuera Christianae, debuistis inflectere, ut pro regni et animae suae salute fidem, quam colitis, sequeretur: quatenus et de eo, et per eum de totius gentis conuersione, digna uobis in caelestibus gaudiis retributio nasceretur. Nam postquam, sicut diximus, et recta fide gloria

in letters, this ought not to have been a slow or a difficult task for you.

And now that, by God's good pleasure, a fitting moment is come, be sure that you repair past neglect with interest by the help of Divine grace. Confirm therefore the mind of your illustrious consort in his attachment to the Christian faith by constant exhortation; let your care pour into him an increased love of God, and inflame his soul for the complete conversion of the race of his subjects, so that you may offer a great sacrifice to Almighty God as the result of his devout earnestness, and that the things reported of you may increase and may be approved true in every way. For your excellences have not only been brought to the knowledge of the Romans, who have the more vigorously prayed for your life, but to many countries, and even to Constantinople, to the most serene Prince. Therefore, as we have

uestra munita et litteris docta est, hoc uobis nec tardum nec debuit esse difficile.

Et quoniam, Deo uolente, aptum nunc tempus est, agite, ut diuina gratia cooperante cum augmento possitis, quod neglectum est, reparare. Itaque mentem gloriosi coniugis uestri in dilectione Christianae fidei adhortatione assidua roborate, uestra illa sollicitudo augmentum in Deum amoris infundat, atque ita animos eius etiam pro subiectae sibi gentis plenissima conuersione succendat, ut et magnum omnipotenti Domino de deuotionis suae studio sacrificium offeratis, et ea quae de uobis narrata sunt crescant, et uera esse modis omnibus approbentur: quia bona uestra non solum iam apud Romanos, qui pro uita uestra fortius orauerunt, sed etiam per diuersa loca et usque Constantinopolim ad serenissimum principem peruenerunt. Unde sicut nobis de Christianitatis

received gladness from your Christian encouragement, so let the angels have joy in heaven from your perfect work. Set yourself so earnestly and whole-heartedly to help our most reverend brother and fellow-bishop aforesaid, and the servants of God whom we sent to those parts for the conversion of your nation, that you may reign here happily with our illustrious son, your consort, and after many years may receive also the joys of the life to come, which know no end. We pray Almighty God to inflame your heart, illustrious Lady, by the fire of His grace to do what we have said, and grant you the fruit of an eternal reward for work well-pleasing unto Him.

(6) *To Ethelbert, King of the English.*

(Epist. lib. xi. ind. iv. num. 66 and Bede i. xxxii.)

The reason why Almighty God brings good men to

uestrae solaciis laetitia facta est, ita quoque de perfecta operatione uestra angelis fiat gaudium in caelis. Sic uos in adiutorio supradicti reuerendissimi fratris et coepiscopi nostri, et seruorum Dei, quos illuc misimus in conuersione gentis uestrae, deuote ac totis uiribus exhibete, ut et hic feliciter cum glorioso filio nostro coniuge uestro regnetis, et post longa annorum tempora futurae quoque uitae gaudia, quae finem habere nesciunt, capiatis. Oramus autem omnipotentem Deum, ut gloriae uestrae cor ad operanda quae diximus gratiae suae igne succendat, et aeternae mercedis fructum uobis de placita sibi operatione concedat.

Gregorius *Ethelberto Regi Anglorum.*

Propter hoc omnipotens Deus bonos quosque ad populorum

be rulers of the peoples is that by means of them He may bestow the gifts of His lovingkindness upon all their subjects. We have learned that this has taken place in the English race; over which your Highness has been set for this very purpose, that through the blessings granted to yourself the race which you rule may receive divine benefits. And therefore, illustrious son, give earnest heed to keep the grace which has been given you by God; be eager to spread the Christian faith among the peoples whom you rule; redouble your upright zeal in their conversion; drive out the worship of the idols; overthrow the temple buildings; build up the morals of your subjects by great purity of life, exhorting, threatening, persuading, correcting, showing examples of good action, that in heaven you may find a Rewarder in Him whose name and knowledge you have extended upon earth. He whose honour you seek and

regimina perducit, ut per eos omnibus, quibus praelati fuerint, dona suae pietatis impendat. Quod in Anglorum gente factum cognouimus: cui uestra gloria idcirco est praeposita, ut per bona, quae uobis concessa sunt, etiam subiectae uobis genti superna beneficia praestarentur. Et ideo, gloriose fili, eam quam accepisti diuinitus gratiam, sollicita mente custodi, Christianam fidem in populis tibi subditis extendere festina, zelum rectitudinis tuae in eorum conuersione multiplica, idolorum cultus insequere, fanorum aedificia euerte, subditorum mores ex magna uitae munditia, exhortando, terrendo, blandiendo, corrigendo, et boni operis exempla monstrando aedifica: ut illum retributorem inuenias in caelo, cuius nomen atque cognitionem dilataueris in terra. Ipse enim uestrae

maintain among the nations will make your glorious name yet more glorious among posterity. Thus Constantine, the most religious Emperor, when he recalled the Roman State from the perverse worship of idols, submitted it as well as himself to our Almighty Lord God Jesus Christ, and turned to Him with his whole heart along with the peoples whom he ruled. So it came about that his praises surpassed the fame of the princes of old, and he excelled his predecessors as much in renown as in good action. And you, illustrious Sir, must now be eager to pour the knowledge of the one God, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, into the kings and peoples subject to you, and must surpass the ancient kings of your nation in fame as in desert, and, purging away the sins of others who are under you, have the less anxiety about your own sins before the dreadful bar of Almighty God.

quoque gloriae nomen etiam posteris gloriosius reddet, cuius uos honorem quaeritis et seruatis in gentibus.

Sic etenim Constantinus quondam piissimus imperator, Romanam rempublicam a peruersis idolorum cultibus reuocans, omnipotenti Deo Domino nostro Iesu Christo secum subdidit, seque cum subiectis populis tota ad eum mente conuertit. Unde factum est ut antiquorum principum nomen suis uir ille laudibus uinceret, et tanto in opinione praecessores suos quanto et in bono opere superaret. Et nunc itaque uestra gloria cognitionem unius Dei, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, regibus ac populis sibimet subiectis festinet infundere, et antiquos gentis suae reges laudibus ac meritis transeat, et quanto in subiectis suis etiam aliena peccata deterserit, tanto etiam de peccatis propriis ante omnipotentis Dei terribile examen securior fiat.

Our most reverend brother the Bishop Augustine has been well trained under monastic discipline, is filled with knowledge of Holy Scripture, and endowed with good works by God's inspiration. Listen to all the advice he gives you, act upon it devoutly, keep it diligently in remembrance; for if you listen to him, in that which he speaks on behalf of Almighty God, Almighty God will the more speedily listen to him when he prays on behalf of you. For if (as God forbid), you put off attending to his words, how will Almighty God be able to listen to him on your behalf, when you neglect to listen to him on behalf of God? Cleave therefore to him with all your soul, in fervent faith; and aid his endeavour by the power with which Heaven supplies you, that God, whose faith you are causing to be received and kept in your kingdom, may make you partaker of His own.

Moreover we would have you to know, illustrious

Reuerentissimus frater noster Augustinus episcopus, in monasterii regula edoctus, sacrae Scripturae scientia repletus, bonis auctore Deo operibus praeditus, quaeque uos ammonet, audite, deuote peragite, studiose in memoria reseruate: quia si uos eum in eo, quod pro omnipotente Domino loquitur, auditis, isdem omnipotens Deus hunc pro uobis exorantem celerius exaudit. Si enim, quod absit, uerba eius postponitis, quando eum omnipotens Deus poterit audire pro uobis, quem uos neglegitis audire pro Deo? Tota igitur mente cum eo uos in feruore fidei stringite, atque adnisum illius uirtute quam uobis Diuinitas tribuit adiuuate, ut regni sui uos ipse faciat esse participes, cuius uos fidem in regno vestro recipi faciatis et custodiri.

Praeterea scire uestram gloriam uolumus quia, sicut in

Sir, that, as we learn in Holy Scripture from the words of the Lord Almighty, the end of the present world is at hand, and the reign of the saints is about to begin, which will never end. As that end of the world draws near, many things hang over us which have never happened before; changes in the air, terrors from heaven, seasons out of their due order, wars, famines, pestilences, earthquakes in divers places. Not all of these will take place in our days, but after our days they will all follow. If therefore any of these things are found to occur in your country, be not at all troubled in your mind. The reason why these premonitory signs of the end of the world are sent, is that we may take heed to our souls, may not be taken unawares by the hour of death, and may be found prepared by good life for the Judge who is coming.

I have said these few words, illustrious Son, that,

Scriptura sacra ex uerbis Domini omnipotentis agnoscimus, praesentis mundi iam terminus iuxta est, et sanctorum regnum uenturum est, quod nullo umquam poterit fine terminari. Adpropinquante autem eodem mundi termino, multa imminent quae antea non fuerunt: uidelicet immutationes aëris, terroresque de caelo, et contra ordinationem temporum tempestates, bella, fames, pestilentiae, terrae motus per loca; quae tamen non omnia nostris diebus uentura sunt, sed post nostros dies omnia subsequentur. Uos itaque, si qua ex his euenire in terra uestra cognoscitis, nullo modo uestrum animum perturbetis; quia idcirco haec signa de fine saeculi praemittuntur, ut de animabus nostris debeamus esse solliciti, de mortis hora suspecti, et uenturo iudici in bonis actibus inueniamur esse praeparati. Haec nunc, gloriose fili, paucis locutus sum,

when the Christian faith has been extended in your kingdom, our speech to you may likewise be extended to greater fulness[1], and that we may have additional pleasure in speaking, when the joy of our heart is multiplied by the perfect conversion of your nation.

I have sent you some little presents, which to you will not be little, as you receive them from the blessing of the Apostle Peter. Almighty God perfect His grace which He has begun in you, and prolong your life here through a course of many years, and at a distant date receive you into the assembly of the heavenly home. May the grace above preserve your Excellence safe and sound, my lord and Son.

ut, cum Christiana fides in regno uestro excreuerit, nostra quoque apud uos locutio latior excrescat, et tanto plus loqui libeat, quanto se in mente nostra gaudia de gentis uestrae perfecta conuersione multiplicant.

Parua autem exenia transmisi, quae uobis parua non erunt, cum a uobis ex beati Petri Apostoli fuerint benedictione suscepta. Omnipotens itaque Deus in uobis gratiam suam, quam coepit, perficiat, atque uitam uestram et hic per multorum annorum curricula extendat, et post longa tempora in caelestis uos patriae congregatione recipiat. Incolumem excellentiam uestram gratia superna custodiat, domine fili.

[1] If Ethelbert had not yet been baptized, Gregory must necessarily have made some clearer reference to that fact at this point. He must have said that he could not yet speak freely to one who had not committed himself to Christianity. As it is, Gregory assumes throughout that Ethelbert himself is wholly Christian, and that it only remains to make his subjects Christian also.

(7) *To Vergilius, Bishop of Arles.*

(Epist. lib. xi. ind. iv. num. 68 and Bede i. xxviii.)

We may know what affection to bestow upon brethren who come unasked, by observing that invitations are a common form of charity. Accordingly, if our common brother the Bishop Augustine should happen to come to you, let your kindness receive him affectionately and tenderly, as is meet, so that Augustine himself may be comforted by your good consolation, and that others may learn from you how to cultivate brotherly charity.

And since it is often the case, that men at a distance first learn from others what is to be corrected, if Augustine should come to you, brother, with delinquencies of priests or others, sit together with him and examine the whole case in detail, and show yourselves strict and careful about things which offend God and provoke Him to wrath, that for the correction of others

Gregorius *Vergilio Episcopo Arelatensi.*

Quantus sit affectus uenientibus sponte fratribus impendendus, ex eo, quod plerumque solent caritatis causa inuitari, cognoscitur. Et ideo si communem fratrem Augustinum episcopum ad uos uenire contigerit, ita illum dilectio uestra, sicut decet, affectuose dulciterque suscipiat, ut et ipsum consolationis suae bono refoueat, et alios, qualiter fraterna caritas colenda sit, doceat. Et quoniam saepius euenit, ut hi, qui longe sunt positi, prius ab aliis, quae sunt emendanda, cognoscant, si quas fortasse fraternitati uestrae sacerdotum uel aliorum culpas intulerit, una cum eo residentes subtili cuncta inuestigatione perquirite, et ita uos in ea quae Deum offendunt, et ad iracundiam prouocant, districtos ac sollicitos exhibete, ut

retribution may strike the guilty, and false report may not distress the innocent. God keep you safe, most reverend brother.

X. *Gregory's answers to Augustine's questions*[1].

(Epist. lib. XI. ind. iv. num. 64 and in part Bede I. xxvii.)

By my dear son the presbyter Lawrence and the monk Peter, I received your manuscript, brother, in which you have been at the pains to ask me about many points. But because those sons of mine found

ad aliorum emendationem et uindicta culpabilem feriat, et innocentem falsa opinio non affligat. Deus te incolumem custodiat, reuerentissime frater.

Gregorii *Responsiones ad Interrogationes Augustini.*

Per dilectissimum filium Laurentium presbyterum et Petrum monachum fraternitatis tuae scripta suscepi; in quibus me de multis capitibus requirere curasti. Sed quia praedicti filii mei

[1] Duchesne *Origines du Culte Chrétien* p. 94 pronounces that 'this letter is certainly spurious, though very ancient.' The reason which he gives, besides the fact that St Boniface could not find it at Rome some time before 736,—not in 745 as Duchesne says,—is the purely subjective reason that no Roman, certainly no Pope, could have written the phrase that things are not to be loved for the sake of places, but places for the sake of things. Duchesne says that he should not be surprised if the Questions and Answers were composed by Archbishop Theodore, who thought this a suitable way of recommending his ideas of discipline and ritual. The question of the genuineness of the document will be found discussed in my Preface. Suffice it to say here that this is an instance in which Gregory's genius transcends not only the notions of his own time, but even those of the brilliant critic whom I have named. Theodore was a great man, but he was hardly such a Shakespeare as a dramatic work like this would show its author to be.

me tortured with the gout, and as they pressed me to let them go as quickly as I could, they were dismissed indeed, but leaving me still in my tortures. I was not able to answer each point as fully as I might[1].

I. First Question of the blessed Augustine, Bishop of the Church of Canterbury. Concerning bishops, how they should live with their clergy; and of the things which come to the altar by the offerings of the faithful, into how many portions they should be divided; and how the bishop should behave in the church.

Gregory, Pope of the city of Rome, replied:

Holy Scripture, which you, of course, know well, bears witness, and especially the Epistles of the Blessed

podagrae me inuenerunt doloribus afflictum, et cum urgerent se citius dimitti, ita relaxati sunt ut in eadem me dolorum afflictione relinquerent; singulis quibusque capitulis ut debui latius respondere non ualui.

Prima Interrogatio beati Augustini Episcopi Cantuariorum ecclesiae.

De episcopis, qualiter cum suis clericis conuersentur; uel de his quae fidelium oblationibus accedunt altario, quantae debeant fieri portiones; et qualiter episcopus agere in ecclesia debeat.

Respondit Gregorius Papa urbis Romae.

Sacra Scriptura testatur, quam te bene nosse dubium non est, et specialiter beati Pauli ad Timotheum epistolae, in quibus

[1] If Bede is right in his statement (I. xxvii.) that Lawrence and Peter were sent to Rome 'immediately' after his return from his consecration at Arles, they must have been detained at Rome for nearly three years after these replies were composed by Gregory.

Paul to Timothy, in which he studied to instruct him how he should behave in the house of God.

The custom of the Apostolic See is, when bishops are ordained, to give them directions to make four portions of everything that comes in; one for the bishop and his family, with a view to hospitality and entertaining; one for the clergy; the third for the poor; the fourth for the repair of the churches. But as you, brother, have been educated under a monastic rule, and ought not to be separated from your clergy, you ought to establish in the Church of the English, which is still but newly brought to the faith by the motion of God, that manner of life which our fathers used in the beginning of the infant church;—among whom, there was none of them who said that aught of the things which they possessed was his own, but they had all things common.

If there are any clergy outside the sacred orders[1],

eum erudire studuit qualiter in domo Dei conuersari debuisset. Mos autem sedis apostolicae est ordinatis episcopis praecepta tradere, ut in omni stipendio quod accedit quattuor debeant fieri portiones; una uidelicet episcopo et familiae propter hospitalitatem atque susceptionem; alia clero; tertia pauperibus; quarta ecclesiis reparandis. Sed quia tua fraternitas monasterii regulis erudita seorsum fieri non debet a clericis suis, in ecclesia Anglorum, quae auctore Deo nuper adhuc ad fidem adducta est, hanc debet conuersationem instituere, quae initio nascentis ecclesiae fuit patribus nostris; in quibus nullus eorum ex his quae possidebant aliquid suum esse dicebat, sed erant eis omnia communia.

Si qui uero sunt clerici extra sacros ordines constituti, qui

[1] That is, below the rank of subdeacon.

who are unable to contain, they should take wives, and receive their stipends apart; for we know that it is written of those same fathers of whom we have spoken, that they divided severally to all, according as every man had need. Attention and forethought must be used with regard to their stipends also; and they must be bound to obey church rule;—to live good moral lives, to keep watch for singing psalms; and by the help of God to keep heart and tongue and body from all unlawful things. But with regard to those who live a common life, why need I speak of dividing portions, or showing hospitality, and fulfilling mercy, since all that remains over is to be expended on causes of piety and religion, as the Lord, the Master of all, teaches: 'Give in alms that which remains over, and behold all things are clean unto you'?

II. Augustine's Question. The faith being one,

se continere non possunt, sortiri uxores debent, et stipendia sua exterius accipere. Quia et de hisdem patribus, de quibus praefati sumus, nouimus scriptum, quod diuidebatur singulis prout cuique opus erat. De eorum quoque stipendio cogitandum atque prouidendum est, et sub ecclesiastica regula sunt tenendi, ut bonis moribus uiuant, et canendis psalmis inuigilent, et ab omnibus inlicitis et cor et linguam et corpus Deo auctore conseruent. Communi autem uita uiuentibus iam de faciendis portionibus, uel exhibenda hospitalitate, et adimplenda misericordia, nobis quid erit loquendum, cum omne quod superest in causis piis ac religiosis erogandum est, Domino omnium magistro docente: 'Quod superest, date eleemosynam, et ecce omnia munda sunt uobis'?

Secunda Interrogatio Augustini.

Cum una sit fides, sunt ecclesiarum diuersae consuetudines,

are there different customs in different Churches, and is one custom observed in the masses of the holy Roman Church, and another in the Church of Gaul?

Pope Gregory replied: My brother, you know the custom of the Church of Rome, in which you remember your rearing. But I should like you carefully to select whatever you have found either in the Church of Rome, or in that of Gaul, or in any other, which may better please Almighty God, and to introduce, by an excellent arrangement, into the Church of the English, which is still new to the faith, what you have been able to gather together from many Churches. For things are not to be loved for the sake of places, but places for the sake of good things. From all the several Churches, therefore, select the things which are pious, and religious, and right, and gather them as it were into a bundle, and store them in the minds of the English to form a custom.

et altera consuetudo missarum in sancta Romana ecclesia, atque altera in Galliarum tenetur?

Respondit Gregorius Papa.

Nouit fraternitas tua Romanae ecclesiae consuetudinem, in qua se meminit nutritam. Sed mihi placet, siue in Romana, siue in Galliarum, seu in qualibet ecclesia aliquid inuenisti quod plus omnipotenti Deo possit placere, sollicite eligas, et in Anglorum ecclesia, quae adhuc ad fidem noua est, institutione praecipua, quae de multis ecclesiis colligere potuisti, infundas. Non enim pro locis res, sed pro bonis rebus loca amanda sunt. Ex singulis ergo quibusque ecclesiis, quae pia, quae religiosa, quae recta sunt, elige, et haec quasi in fasciculum collecta apud Anglorum mentes in consuetudinem depone.

III. Augustine's Question. I pray you, what ought to be done to a man who has stolen from a church?

Gregory replied: My brother, you can consider according to the particular thief what correction he may endure. There are some who commit theft though they have a living; and there are others who sin in this way for want. Some, accordingly, must be corrected by fines, and some with stripes; some more severely, and some more leniently. And even when somewhat severe action is used, it must be done out of charity, not out of anger. For this benefit is conferred on the man who is corrected, that he is not delivered to hell-fire. We ought so to administer discipline to the faithful, as good fathers do to their children after the flesh. They lay stripes upon them for their faults, yet they desire to have for their heirs those very children whom they put

Tertia Interrogatio Augustini.

Obsecro quid pati debeat, si quis aliquid de ecclesia furtu abstulerit?

Respondit Gregorius.

Hoc tua fraternitas ex persona furis pensare potest, qualiter ualeat corrigi. Sunt enim quidam qui habentes subsidia furtum perpetrant; et sunt alii qui hac in re ex inopia delinquunt: unde necesse est ut quidam damnis, quidam uerò uerberibus, et quidam districtius, quidam autem leuius corrigantur. Et cum paulo districtius agitur, ex caritate agendum est, et non ex furore: quia ipsi hoc praestatur qui corrigitur, ne gehennae ignibus tradatur. Sic enim nos fidelibus tenere disciplinam debemus, sicut boni patres carnalibus filiis solent, quos et pro culpis uerberibus feriunt, et tamen ipsos quos doloribus

to pain, and keep their possessions for those whom they appear to chastise with wrath. This charity, therefore, must be kept in mind, and it dictates the measure of the correction, so that the mind does nothing at all beyond the rule of reason. You will add also how they must restore what they have taken from churches. But God forbid that the Church should take back with interest any part of her worldly goods which she seems to have lost, and so to make gain of worthless things.

IV. Augustine's Question. Whether two whole brothers may hold in marriage two sisters, not closely related to them by descent?

Gregory replied: Assuredly it is lawful. Nowhere in Holy Scripture is anything found which would seem to be in conflict with this article.

adfligunt habere heredes quaerunt, et quae possident ipsis seruant quos irati insequi uidentur. Haec ergo caritas in mente tenenda est, et ipsa modum correptionis dictat, ita ut mens extra rationis regulam omnino nihil faciat. Addes etiam, quomodo ea quae furtu de ecclesiis abstulerint reddere debeant. Sed absit ut ecclesia cum augmento recipiat quod de terrenis rebus uidetur amittere, et lucra de uanis quaerere.

Quarta Interrogatio Augustini.

Si debeant duo germani fratres singulas sorores accipere, quae sunt ab illis longa progenie generatae?

Respondit Gregorius.

Hoc fieri modis omnibus licet: nequaquam enim in sacris eloquiis inuenitur quod huic capitulo contradicere uideatur.

V. Augustine's question. At what generation may the faithful be joined in marriage with their relatives? and may men marry their stepmothers and sisters-in-law?

Gregory replied: A certain secular law in the Roman State permits that the son and daughter of whether it be brother and sister, or of two brothers or of two sisters, may marry. But we have learned by experience that such marriages are incapable of issue. And the sacred Law forbids to uncover the nakedness of one near of kin. It is necessary therefore that the third or fourth generation should be reached before there can be a lawful union; the second generation, of which we have spoken, must certainly refrain. Union with a stepmother is a grave crime. It is written in the Law, 'Thou shalt

Quinta Interrogatio Augustini.

Usque ad quotam generationem fideles debeant cum propinquis sibi coniugio copulari? et nouercis et cognatis si liceat copulari coniugio?

Respondit Gregorius.

Quaedam terrena lex in Romana republica permittit, ut siue frater et soror, seu duorum fratrum germanorum uel duarum sororum filius et filia misceantur. Sed experimento didicimus, ex tali coniugio sobolem non posse succrescere: et sacra lex prohibet cognationis turpitudinem reuelare. Unde necesse est ut iam tertia uel quarta generatio fidelium licenter sibi iungi debeat: nam secunda, quam praediximus, a se omni modo debet abstinere. Cum nouerca autem miscere graue est facinus, quia et in lege scriptum est: *Turpitudinem patris tui non*

not uncover the nakedness of thy father.' A son cannot uncover his father's nakedness; but, as it is written, 'They two shall be one flesh,' he who dares to uncover the nakedness of his stepmother, who was one flesh with his father, has thereby uncovered his father's nakedness. It is also forbidden to marry a sister-in-law, because she has been made by marriage one flesh with the brother. For this cause John the Baptist was beheaded and came to the martyr's end, who was not bidden to deny Christ, and yet was killed for the confession of Christ; but, because our Lord Jesus Christ had said to them, 'I am the Truth'; because John was killed for the Truth, therefore he shed his blood for Christ.

But because there are many in the English nation who, while they were still in unbelief, are said to have been joined in this abominable marriage[1], they must be admonished when they come to the faith to abstain, and

reuelabis. Neque enim patris turpitudinem filius reuelare potest. Sed quia scriptum est: *Erunt duo in carne una*; qui turpitudinem nouercae, quae una caro cum patre fuit, reuelare praesumpserit, profecto patris turpitudinem reuelauit. Cum cognata quoque miscere prohibitum est, quia per coniunctionem priorem caro fratris fuerat facta. Pro qua re etiam Iohannes Baptista capite truncatus est, et sancto martyrio consummatus, cui non est dictum ut Christum negaret, et pro Christi confessione occisus est; sed quia isdem Dominus noster Iesus Christus dixerat: *Ego sum ueritas*; quia pro ueritate Iohannes occisus est, uidelicet et pro Christo sanguinem fudit. Quia uero sunt multi in Anglorum gente, qui, dum adhuc in infidelitate essent, huic nefando coniugio dicuntur admixti, ad fidem uenientes admonendi sunt ut se abstineant, et graue hoc

[1] Edbald, the son of Ethelbert, is a case in point. See below, p. 111.

to know that this is a grave sin. Let them dread the fearful judgment of God, lest for the sake of a carnal affection they bring upon themselves the anguish of eternal torment. They should not, however, for this cause be deprived of the Communion of the Lord's Body and Blood, lest it should seem as if vengeance was being taken for those things in which they were involved through ignorance before their baptismal washing. In this time, the holy Church corrects some things in zeal, puts up with some things in gentleness, feigns not to see some things in considerateness; and she tolerates and feigns not to see in such a manner that often, by tolerating and feigning not to see, she keeps down the evil which she is opposing. But all those who come to the faith should be admonished not to dare to do anything of the kind. If any have done so, they should be deprived of the Communion of the Lord's Body and Blood; because, as the fault is to some extent to be put up with in the case of those who have

esse peccatum cognoscant. Tremendum Dei iudicium timeant, ne pro carnali dilectione tormenta aeterni cruciatus incurrant. Non tamen pro hac re sacri corporis ac sanguinis Domini communione priuandi sunt, ne in eis illa ulcisci uideantur, in quibus se per ignorantiam ante lauacrum baptismatis adstrinxerunt. In hoc enim tempore sancta ecclesia quaedam per feruorem corrigit, quaedam per mansuetudinem tolerat, quaedam per considerationem dissimulat, atque ita portat et dissimulat, ut saepe malum quod aduersatur portando et dissimulando compescat. Omnes autem qui ad fidem ueniunt admonendi sunt, ne tale aliquid audeant perpetrare. Si qui autem perpetrauerint, corporis et sanguinis Domini communione priuandi sunt: quia sicut in his, qui per ignorantiam

done it through ignorance, so it should be strongly chastised in the case of those who are not afraid to sin wittingly.

VI. Augustine's Question. If distances are great to travel, so that the bishops cannot easily come together, may a bishop be ordained without the presence of other bishops?

Gregory replied: As a matter of fact, in the Church of the English, in which as yet you are the only bishop to be found, you cannot help ordaining a bishop without other bishops. When do bishops come from Gaul, to assist as witnesses in the ordination of a bishop? But we wish you, brother, to ordain bishops on such a method that these bishops may not be separated by long distances from each other, that there may be no

fecerunt, culpa aliquatenus toleranda est, ita in his fortiter insequenda, qui non metuunt sciendo peccare.

Sexta Interrogatio Augustini.

Si longinquitas itineris magna interiacet, ut episcopi non facile ualeant conuenire, an debeat sine aliorum episcoporum praesentia episcopus ordinari?

Respondit Gregorius.

Et quidem in Anglorum ecclesia, in qua adhuc solus tu episcopus inueniris, ordinare episcopum non aliter nisi sine episcopis potes. Nam quando de Gallis episcopi ueniunt, qui in ordinatione episcopi testes adsistant? Sed fraternitatem tuam ita uolumus episcopos ordinare, ut ipsi sibi episcopi longo interuallo minime disiungantur; quatenus nulla

need [to consecrate by yourself], but that at a bishop's ordination other pastors also, whose presence is very valuable, may be able to come together with ease. When therefore, with God's help, bishops have been thus ordained in places near each other all over the country, the ordination of a bishop ought not to take place without three or four bishops assembling for it. An illustration from carnal things may be taken to show how spiritual things should be wisely and seasonably ordered. When weddings are celebrated in the world, all the married people are called together, that those who have gone the way of marriage before may join with the joy of the couple who are following them. Why then should not this spiritual ordination, in which through the sacred ministry man is united to God, be made the occasion for gathering those together who will both rejoice in the promotion of the bishop ordained, and pour out prayers to Almighty God in common for his safe keeping?

sit necessitas, ut in ordinatione episcopi pastores quoque alii, quorum praesentia ualde est utilis, facile debeant conuenire. Cum igitur auctore Deo ita fuerint episcopi in propinquis sibi locis ordinati per omnia, episcoporum ordinatio sine adgregatis tribus uel quattuor episcopis fieri non debet. Nam in ipsis rebus spiritalibus ut sapienter et mature disponantur, exemplum trahere a rebus etiam carnalibus possumus. Certe enim dum coniugia in mundo celebrantur, coniugati quique conuocantur, ut qui in uia iam coniugii praecesserunt, in subsequentis quoque copulae gaudio misceantur. Cur non ergo et in hac spiritali ordinatione, qua per sacrum ministerium homo Deo coniungitur, tales conueniant, qui uel in prouectu ordinati episcopi gaudeant, uel pro eius custodia omnipotenti Deo preces pariter fundant?

VII. Augustine's Question. How ought we to act with the bishops of Gaul and of Britain[1]?

Gregory replied: We bestow upon you no authority among the bishops of Gaul; because from the ancient times of my predecessors the Bishop of Arles has received the pall, and we ought not at all to deprive him of the authority he has enjoyed. If you happen, therefore, brother, to cross into the province of Gaul,

Septima Interrogatio Augustini.

Qualiter debemus cum Galliarum Britanniarumque episcopis agere?

Respondit Gregorius.

In Galliarum episcopis nullam tibi auctoritatem tribuimus: quia ab antiquis praedecessorum meorum temporibus pallium Arelatensis episcopus accepit, quem nos priuare auctoritate percepta minime debemus. Si igitur contingat ut fraternitas

[1] It is quite possible that Gregory did not understand the point of Augustine's question. It seems very unlikely that Augustine should have imagined himself to have any territorial jurisdiction over the older dioceses of Gaul; and perhaps this question, like the second, may have sprung out of difficulties with Liudhard, the Frankish bishop whom he found already at Canterbury, and with the Frankish presbyters who had accompanied the mission. There may also have been other occasional visitors from among the continental bishops (like Felix and Agilbert a little later) whose visits and ministrations are unrecorded. By the 'bishops of Britain,' Augustine probably meant those Celtic bishops over whom he soon sought to establish a jurisdiction. But it looks as if Gregory knew nothing of these Celtic bishops, so that the last sentence of this reply had no direct reference to them, but meant the bishops whom Augustine himself would appoint. At the same time it shows Gregory's curiously defective information with regard to Gaul and Britain that he should have given Augustine leave, even in conjunction with the Bishop of Arles, to concern himself with correcting the faults of bishops under the jurisdiction of the latter.

you should act with the Bishop of Arles, for the correction of any faults that may be found in the bishops. If he should prove lukewarm with regard to energy in discipline, your zeal, my brother, must set him on fire. We have written a letter to him also, to help you with all his heart when your Holiness is present in Gaul, and to restrain whatever is contrary to the commandment of our Maker in the ways of the bishops. You by yourself, however, cannot judge the bishops of Gaul, outside your own jurisdiction; but persuade, entreat, display good works for their imitation, and so reform the minds of those who are bad to the pursuit of holiness; for it is written in the Law, 'When a man passeth through another man's corn, he may not put a sickle thereto, but may rub the ears with his hand and eat.' You may not put the sickle of judgment to the crop which is evidently intrusted to another; but, by your devotion to good work, rid the Lord's wheat of

tua ad Galliarum prouinciam transeat, cum eodem Arelatense episcopo debet agere, qualiter, si qua sunt in episcopis uitia, corrigantur. Qui si forte in disciplinae uigore tepidus existat, tuae fraternitatis zelo accendendus est. Cui etiam epistolas fecimus, ut cum tuae sanctitatis praesentia in Galliis et ipse tota mente subueniat, et quae sunt creatoris nostri iussioni contraria, ab episcoporum moribus compescat. Ipse autem extra auctoritatem propriam episcopos Galliarum iudicare non poteris; sed suadendo, blandiendo, bona quoque opera eorum imitationi monstrando, prauorum mentes ad sanctitatis studia reforma: quia scriptum est in lege: *Per alienam messem transiens falcem mittere non debet, sed manu spicas conterere et manducare.* Falcem enim iudicii mittere non potes in ea segete, quae alteri uidetur esse commissa; sed per affectum

its vicious chaff, and by warning and persuasion, as it were by eating, convert it into the body of the Church. Whatever is to be done by authority, must be done in conjunction with the aforesaid Bishop of Arles, that what our fathers of old devised and established may not be left out of account. But all the bishops of Britain we intrust to you, brother, that the unlearned may be taught, the weak be strengthened by persuasion, the perverse be corrected by authority.

VIII. Augustine's Question. Whether a woman may be baptized when with child[1]?

Gregory replied: I do not doubt that this question has been put to you, brother; and I think that I have

boni operis frumenta Dominica uitiorum suorum paleis exspolia, et in ecclesiae corpore monendo et persuadendo quasi mandendo conuerte. Quicquid uero ex auctoritate agendum est, cum praedicto Arelatense episcopo agatur, ne praetermitti possit hoc, quod antiqua patrum institutio inuenit. Brittaniarum uero omnes episcopos tuae fraternitati committimus, ut indocti doceantur, infirmi persuasione roborentur, peruersi auctoritate corrigantur.

Octava Interrogatio Augustini.

Si praegnans mulier debeat baptizari?...

Respondit Gregorius.

Hoc non ambigo fraternitatem tuam esse requisitam, cui iam et responsum reddidisse me arbitror. Sed hoc quod ipse

[1] To this question are attached others somewhat similar in kind, with regard to various things which might be considered to carry with them defilement from a Levitical point of view.

answered it already. But I suppose you wished that what you were able to say and think for yourself should be supported by an answer of mine put in your hands. Why should not a woman with child be baptized, when it is no sin in the eyes of Almighty God to be fruitful? When our first parents had done wrong in Paradise, by the righteous judgment of God they lost the immortality which had been given them. So, because Almighty God would not entirely exterminate mankind for its fault, He took away from man on the one hand his immortality for his sin, and on the other hand according to His own lovingkindness He reserved for him fruitfulness in procreation of children. What has been preserved, therefore, for mankind by gift of Almighty God, how could we forbid to approach the grace of Holy Baptism? It would be very foolish to suppose that a thing which is itself a gift of grace can be out of keeping with that sacrament in which all guilt is completely done away...

dicere et sentire potuisti, credo quia mea apud te uolueris responsione firmari. Mulier etenim praegnans cur non debeat baptizari, cum non sit ante omnipotentis Dei oculos culpa aliqua fecunditas carnis? Nam cum primi parentes nostri in paradiso deliquissent, immortalitatem quam acceperant recto Dei iudicio perdiderunt. Quia itaque isdem omnipotens Deus humanum genus pro culpa sua funditus exstinguere noluit, et immortalitatem homini pro peccato suo abstulit, et tamen pro benignitate suae pietatis fecunditatem ei sobolis reseruauit. Quod ergo naturae humanae ex omnipotentis Dei dono seruatum est, qua ratione poterit a sacri baptismatis gratia prohiberi? In illo quippe mysterio, in quo omnis culpa funditus exstinguitur, ualde stultum est, si donum gratiae contradicere posse uideatur....

XI. *Despatch of Reinforcements from Rome. Gregory's scheme for Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions in England.*

(Bede I. xxix.)

Moreover, as the Bishop Augustine had informed Pope Gregory that he had a great harvest, but few labourers, Gregory sent along with the messengers before-mentioned an increased supply of fellow workers and ministers of the word. Of these the first and foremost were Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, and Rufinianus. By them he sent also all manner of things which were wanted for public worship and the service of the church,—sacred vessels, altar draperies, church ornaments, vestments for bishops and clergy; relics also of some of the holy Apostles and Martyrs; and besides these a quantity of books. He sent also a letter, in which he mentions that he has forwarded to Augustine a pall, and intimates at the same time a

Praeterea idem papa Gregorius Augustino episcopo, quia suggesserat ei multam quidem sibi esse messem, sed operarios paucos, misit cum praefatis legatariis suis plures cooperatores ac uerbi ministros; in quibus primi et praecipui erant Mellitus, Iustus, Paulinus, Rufinianus; et per eos generaliter uniuersa, quae ad cultum erant ac ministerium ecclesiae necessaria, uasa uidelicet sacra, et uestimenta altarium, ornamenta quoque ecclesiarum, et sacerdotalia uel clericilia indumenta, sanctorum etiam apostolorum ac martyrum reliquias, nec non et codices plurimos. Misit etiam litteras, in quibus significat se ei pallium direxisse, simul et insinuat, qualiter episcopos in

scheme by which Augustine should make bishops in Britain. The following is the text of the letter.

'To my most reverend and holy brother and fellow bishop Augustine, Gregory, servant of God's servants.

'We know that those who labour for Almighty God have the unspeakable rewards of the eternal kingdom reserved for them; but yet we also must requite them with honours, that the acknowledgment may make them toil the harder in their spiritual work. And inasmuch as the newly founded church of the English has been brought to the grace of Almighty God by the bounty of the Lord and by your exertions, we grant you the use of the pall in that church at the celebration of the solemnities of the mass, and at no other time; with permission to ordain twelve bishops in different places, to be subject to your jurisdiction, in order that the Bishop of the city of London in the future may

Brittania constituere debuisset; quarum litterarum iste est textus:

Reuerentissimo et sanctissimo fratri Augustino coepiscopo Gregorius seruus seruorum Dei.

Cum certum sit pro omnipotente Deo laborantibus ineffabilia aeterni regni praemia reseruari, nobis tamen eis necesse est honorum beneficia tribuere, ut in spiritalis operis studio ex remuneratione ualeant multiplicius insudare. Et quia noua Anglorum ecclesia ad omnipotentis Dei gratiam eodem Domino largiente et te laborante perducta est, usum tibi pallii in ea ad sola missarum sollemnia agenda concedimus, ita ut per loca singula XII episcopos ordines, qui tuae subiaceant dicioni, quatinus Lundoniensis ciuitatis episcopus semper in posterum

always be consecrated by a synod of his own, and may receive the honour of the pall from the holy Apostolic See which by God's appointment I serve. We desire you to send a bishop, whomsoever you determine to ordain, to the city of York, with this provision, that if that city and the neighbouring regions receive the word of God, the Bishop of York likewise may ordain twelve bishops and enjoy the metropolitan dignity. To him also, if life is spared us, we propose with the Lord's favour to grant the pall, but we wish him to be subject to your direction, brother. After your death, he is to preside over the bishops whom he has ordained without being in any way subject to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. In the future the Bishops of London and York are to divide the honour between them thus: the senior by ordination shall be considered to come first; and they must arrange harmoniously by common counsel and combined action whatever is to be

a synodo propria debeat consecrari, atque honoris pallium ab hac sancta et apostolica, cui Deo auctore deseruio, sede percipiat. Ad Eburacam uero ciuitatem te uolumus episcopum mittere, quem ipse iudicaueris ordinare; ita duntaxat, ut, si eadem ciuitas cum finitimis locis uerbum Dei receperit, ipse quoque XII episcopos ordinet, et metropolitani honore perfruatur; quia ei quoque, si uita comes fuerit, pallium tribuere Domino fauente disponimus, quem tamen tuae fraternitatis uolumus dispositioni subiacere; post obitum uero tuum ita episcopis, quos ordinauerit, praesit, ut Lundoniensis episcopi nullo modo dicioni subiaceat. Sit uero inter Lundoniae et Eburacae ciuitatis episcopos in posterum honoris ista distinctio, ut ipse prior habeatur, qui prius fuerit ordinatus; communi autem consilio et concordi actione quaeque

done out of zeal for Christ. They must make good plans, and then execute them without variance. But you, brother, by appointment of our Lord God Jesus Christ, are to have authority not over those bishops alone whom you ordain, nor only over those ordained by the Bishop of York, but even over all the priests[1] of Britain, that from your Holiness's lips and life they may take their pattern of right belief and good living, and performing their duty in faith and morals may attain, when the Lord pleases, to the kingdom of heaven. God keep you safe, most reverend brother.'

sunt pro Christi zelo agenda disponant unanimiter; recte sentiant, et ea, quae senserint, non sibimet discrepando perficiant.

Tua uero fraternitas non solum eos episcopos, quos ordinauerit, neque hos tantummodo, qui per Eburacae episcopum fuerint ordinati, sed etiam omnes Brittaniae sacerdotes habeat Deo Domino nostro Iesu Christo auctore subiectos; quatinus ex lingua et uita tuae sanctitatis et recte credendi et bene uiuendi formam percipiant, atque officium suum fide ac moribus exsequentes, ad caelestia, cum Dominus uoluerit, regna pertingant. Deus te incolumem custodiat, reuerentissime frater.

[1] It is usually thought that the British bishops are here intended. At any rate Augustine interpreted the words as including them. But it is doubtful whether Gregory was aware of their existence. He probably wished to make his statement as large as possible, without exactly analysing its contents.

XII. *Gregory's Letters commendatory of the Second Mission.*

(Epist. lib. xi. ind. iv. num. 58.)

To the Bishops of Toulon, Marseilles, and elsewhere.

Although attention to the office you have received would admonish you, brother, to help religious men to the best of your power, and especially those who are labouring for the sake of souls, it will do no harm if our written words jog your carefulness; for as the blaze gets higher when the breath blows, so the earnestness of a good soul increases at receipt of a commendation. So because with the co-operation of the grace of our Redeemer, there is so great a multitude of the English nation turning to the grace of the Christian faith, that our most reverend brother and fellow bishop, and yours also, Augustine, affirms that the men with him are wholly insufficient to prosecute the work in the different places, we have arranged to send him a number of

Licet fraternitatem uestram suscepti officii cura commoneat, ut religiosis uiris, et praecipue in causa animarum laborantibus, omni debeat adnisu concurrere, non tamen ab re est si sollicitudinem uestram epistolarum nostrarum sermo pulsauerit; quia sicut ignis aura flante fit grandior, ita bonae mentis studia commendatione proficiunt. Quia igitur Redemptoris nostri gratia co-operante tanta de Anglorum gente ad Christianae fidei gratiam multitudo conuertitur ut reuerendissimus communis frater et coepiscopus noster Augustinus eos qui secum sunt ad hoc opus exequendum per diuersa loca asserat non posse sufficere, aliquantos ad eum monachos cum dilectissimis

monks, along with our beloved sons, yours and ours, the presbyter Lawrence and the abbot Mellitus. Accordingly you, brother, will show them proper charity, and will be quick to help them where there is occasion for it, so that by your assistance they may not be delayed in your parts, and thus they will have the pleasure of being relieved by your succour, and you by showing them kindnesses will be found partners in the cause for which they have been dispatched[1].

XIII. *Gregory's counsel to Mellitus with regard to the Heathen Temples in England.*

(Bede I. xxx.)

When the messengers before-mentioned were on their way out, the blessed father Gregory sent after them a letter deserving to be recorded, in which he plainly showed how

et communibus filiis Laurentio presbytero et Mellito abbate praeuidimus transmittendos. Et ideo fraternitas uestra eis caritatem quam deceat exhibeat, atque ita illis ubicumque necesse fuerit auxiliari festinet; quatenus, dum uobis opitulantibus nullas illic remorandi causas habuerint, et ipsi uestra se releuatos consolatione congaudeant et uos solaciorum exhibitione in causa pro qua directi sunt possitis participes inueniri.

Abeuntibus autem praefatis legatariis, misit post eos beatus pater Gregorius litteras memoratu dignas, in quibus aperte,

[1] There are similar letters on behalf of this expedition to many other personages in Gaul, but they contain nothing of additional interest.

diligent and watchful he was for the salvation of our nation. He writes thus:—

'To my beloved son the Abbot Mellitus, Gregory, the servant of God's servants.

'After the departure of our company which is with you, we became very anxious, not having heard at all how your journey prospered. When Almighty God brings you through to our brother the Bishop Augustine, tell him what I have long been turning over in my thoughts in reference to the English; namely, not to let the idol temples be destroyed in that nation, but to have the idols in them destroyed. Holy water should be made and sprinkled in the temples; altars built, and relics placed there. For if the temples are well built, they ought to be converted from the worship of demons to the service of the true God; so that the people, seeing

quam studiose erga saluationem nostrae gentis inuigilauerit, ostendit, ita scribens:

Dilectissimo filio Mellito abbati Gregorius seruus seruorum Dei.

Post discessum congregationis nostrae, quae tecum est, ualde sumus suspensi redditi, quia nihil de prosperitate uestri itineris audisse nos contigit. Cum ergo Deus omnipotens uos ad reuerentissimum uirum fratrem nostrum Augustinum episcopum perduxerit, dicite ei, quid diu mecum de causa Anglorum cogitans tractaui; uidelicet, quia fana idolorum destrui in eadem gente minime debeant; sed ipsa, quae in eis sunt, idola destruantur; aqua benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construantur, reliquiae ponantur. Quia, si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est, ut a cultu daemonum in obsequio ueri Dei debeant commutari; ut dum gens ipsa eadem fana sua

that their temples are not destroyed, may put away error from their hearts, and knowing and adoring the true God may come with more of the sense of being at home to the familiar places. And as they are accustomed to slaughter many oxen in sacrifice to their demons, some change of solemnity should be devised for them in this respect also ;—say, that on the dedication festival, or on those of the holy martyrs, whose relics are placed there, they should make themselves booths of boughs round the temples which have been turned into churches, and observe the solemnity with religious feasts, and while they no longer slaughter their beasts to the devil, they may kill them to the praise of God for their own food, and thank the Giver of all for satisfying them. So by retaining for them some outward rejoicings, they may the more easily be won to rejoicings of a spiritual kind. It is evidently impossible, in the case of hard hearts, to cut off everything at once. A man who is endeavouring

non uidet destrui, de corde errorem deponat, et Deum uerum cognoscens ac adorans, ad loca, quae consueuit, familiarius concurrat. Et quia boues solent in sacrificio daemonum multos occidere, debet eis etiam hac de re aliqua sollemnitas immutari ; ut die dedicationis, uel natalicii sanctorum martyrum, quorum illic reliquiae ponuntur, tabernacula sibi circa easdem ecclesias, quae ex fanis commutatae sunt, de ramis arborum faciant, et religiosis conuiuiis sollemnitatem celebrent ; nec diabolo iam animalia immolent, et ad laudem Dei in esu suo animalia occidant, et donatori omnium de satietate sua gratias referant ; ut dum eis aliqua exterius gaudia reseruantur, ad interiora gaudia consentire facilius ualeant. Nam duris mentibus simul omnia abscidere impossibile esse non dubium est, quia et is, qui

to scale a summit, rises by steps, not by bounds. Thus although the Lord made Himself known to the people of Israel in Egypt, yet He retained for them in His own worship the employment of sacrifices, such as they had been accustomed to offer to the devil, and commanded them to offer animals in sacrifice to Him. The intention was that their hearts might be changed, and while one element of sacrifice was discarded, another might be maintained. The animals were the same that they had offered before; but as they now offered them up to the true God, and not to idols, they were no longer the same sacrifices. You must kindly say this to my brother Augustine, that situated as he is there at present, he may consider what arrangements to make about it all. God keep you safe, dearest son.'

summum locum ascendere nititur, gradibus uel passibus, non autem saltibus eleuatur. Sic Israelitico populo in Aegypto Dominus se quidem innotuit; sed tamen eis sacrificiorum usus, quae diabolo solebat exhibere, in culto proprio reseruauit, ut eis in suo sacrificio animalia immolare praeciperet; quatinus cor mutantes, aliud de sacrificio amitterent, aliud retinerent; ut etsi ipsa essent animalia, quae offerre consueuerant, uero tamen Deo haec et non idolis immolantes, iam sacrificia ipsa non essent. Haec igitur dilectionem tuam praedicto fratri necesse est dicere, ut ipse in praesenti illic positus perpendat, qualiter omnia debeat dispensare. Deus te incolumem custodiat, dilectissime fili.

XIV. *The Founding of Canterbury Cathedral and of St Augustine's Abbey.*

(Bede I. xxxiii.)

When, as I have before related, an episcopal see had been given to Augustine in the King's own city, he regained possession, with the King's support, of a church there, which he was informed had been built in the city long before by the Roman believers. This he consecrated in the name of Saint Saviour, Jesus Christ, our God and Lord, and fixed there a home for himself and all his successors. He made also a monastery not far from the city, on the eastern side, where, at his instigation, Ethelbert erected from the foundation a church of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and endowed it with various benefactions, to be a burying place for Augustine himself and all the Bishops of Canterbury, and also for the Kings of Kent. This

At Augustinus, ubi in regia ciuitate sedem episcopalem, ut praediximus, accepit, recuperauit in ea, regio fultus adminiculo, ecclesiam, quam inibi antiquo Romanorum fidelium opere factam fuisse didicerat, et eam in nomine sancti Saluatoris Dei et Domini nostri Iesu Christi sacrauit, atque ibidem sibi habitationem statuit et cunctis successoribus suis. Fecit autem et monasterium non longe ab ipsa ciuitate ad orientem, in quo, eius hortatu, Aedilberct ecclesiam beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli a fundamentis construxit, ac diuersis donis ditauit, in qua et ipsius Augustini, et omnium episcoporum Doruuernensium, simul et regum Cantiae, poni corpora possent.

church, however, was not consecrated by Augustine, but by his successor Lawrence. The first Abbot of this monastery was the presbyter Peter; who, being sent on a mission into Gaul, was drowned in a bay of the sea called Ambleteuse, and was buried by the inhabitants of the place in a mean grave. But Almighty God, to show what a worthy man he was, caused a heavenly light to appear every night upon his grave; until the neighbours, who saw it, observed that the man who was buried there must have been a holy man, and enquired whence and who he was. They then removed the body, and laid it with the honour befitting such a man in a church in the town of Boulogne.

XV. *Dedication of St Pancras.*

(Thorn col. 1760.)

Not far from the city, on the eastern side, about midway between St Martin's church and the city walls,

Quam tamen ecclesiam non ipse Augustinus, sed successor eius Laurentius consecrauit.

Primus autem eiusdem monasterii abbas Petrus presbiter fuit, qui legatus Galliam missus demersus est in sinu maris, qui uocatur Amfleat, et ab incolis loci ignobili traditus sepulturae; sed omnipotens Deus ut, qualis meriti uir fuerit, demonstraret, omni nocte supra sepulchrum eius lux caelestis apparuit, donec animaduertentes uicini, qui uidebant, sanctum fuisse uirum, qui ibi esset sepultus, et inuestigantes, unde uel quis esset, abstulerunt corpus, et in Bononia ciuitate iuxta honorem tanto uiro congruum in ecclesia posuerunt.

Erat autem non longe ab ipsa ciuitate ad orientem, quasi medio itinere inter ecclesiam sancti Martini et muros ciuitatis,

was situated a temple, or idol house, where King Ethelbert used to pray according to the rites of his nation and in company with his nobles to 'sacrifice to devils and not to God.' This temple Augustine purified from the pollutions and defilements of the Gentiles, and breaking the image which was in it, converted the synagogue into a church, and dedicated it in the name of St Pancras the martyr; and this was the first church dedicated by Augustine. There still exists an altar in the south aisle of that church, upon which Augustine used to celebrate where once the King's image had stood[1].

phanum siue ydolum situm, ubi rex Ethelbertus secundum ritum gentis suae solebat orare, et cum nobilibus suis daemoniis et non Deo sacrificare. Quod phanum Augustinus ab inquinamentis et sordibus gentilium purgauit, et simulacro quod in ea erat confracto synagogam mutauit in ecclesiam, et eam in nomine sancti Pancrasii martyris dedicauit; et haec est prima ecclesia ab Augustino dedicata. Extat adhuc altare in porticu eiusdem ecclesiae australi, in quo idem Augustinus solebat celebrare ubi prius steterat simulacrum regis.

[1] Thorn goes on to say that the east wall of this aisle in his day (1397) bore traces of the efforts made by the devil, the first time he saw Augustine celebrate mass there, to wreck the building out of which he had been ejected. Unfortunately he succeeded better later on. It was in the *fundus*, or glebe, of this church that the monastery 'called by all the inhabitants of the earth the monastery of the Apostles Peter and Paul and of St Augustine' (Thorn *ibid.*) was soon after erected.

XVI. *Augustine and the British Church.*

(Bede II. ii.)

In the meantime, Augustine, with the assistance of King Ethelbert, invited to a conference with himself the bishops and teachers of the nearest British province, at a place still called in English Augustine's Oak, on the borders of the Huiccii[1] and Wessex. He began to persuade them with brotherly admonition to enter the Catholic peace with him, and to co-operate with him in preaching the Gospel to the heathen for the Lord's sake. For the Britons did not keep Easter Sunday at the proper time, but from the moon's fourteenth day to the twentieth; and this mode of computing goes by a cycle of eighty-four years. They had also many other practices which were at variance with church unity. A long discussion was held; and when no entreaties, or

Interea Augustinus adiutorio usus Aedilbercti regis conuocauit ad suum colloquium episcopos siue doctores proximae Brettonum prouinciae in loco, qui usque hodie lingua Anglorum Augustinaes Ác, id est robur Augustini, in confinio Huicciorum et Occidentalium Saxonum appellatur; coepitque eis fraterna admonitione suadere, ut pace catholica secum habita communem euangelizandi gentibus pro Domino laborem susciperent. Non enim paschae diem dominicum suo tempore, sed a XIIII usque ad XX lunam obseruabant; quae computatio LXXXIIII annorum circulo continetur. Sed et alia plurima unitati ecclesiasticae contraria faciebant. Qui cum longa disputatione

[1] The Huiccii occupied roughly speaking our present Worcestershire.

exhortations, or reproofs, on the part of Augustine and his companions could make them willing to consent, but they preferred their own traditions to all the churches which throughout the world agree in Christ, the holy father Augustine brought the long and fatiguing debate to a conclusion by saying; 'Let us beseech God, who maketh men to be of one mind in the house of His Father, to signify graciously to us by heavenly tokens, which tradition to follow, and by what paths to press on that we may enter that Father's kingdom. Let some sick man be fetched, and let us believe that the one whose prayers are the means of healing him, is he whose faith and work are truly consecrated to God and ought to be followed by us all.' His opponents, though reluctantly, agreed to the proposal. A man of English birth was brought, who had lost the sight of his eyes. He was presented to the British bishops, but their ministry brought him no healing or cure. At

habita, neque precibus, neque hortamentis, neque increpationibus Augustini ac sociorum eius adsensum praebere uoluissent, sed suas potius traditiones uniuersis, quae per orbem sibi in Christo concordant, ecclesiis praeferrent, sanctus pater Augustinus hunc laboriosi ac longi certaminis finem fecit, ut diceret: 'Obsecremus Deum, qui habitare facit unanimes in domu Patris sui, ut ipse nobis insinuare caelestibus signis dignetur, quae sequenda traditio, quibus sit uiis ad ingressum regni illius properandum. Adducatur aliquis aeger, et per cuius preces fuerit curatus, huius fides et operatio Deo deuota atque omnibus sequenda credatur.' Quod cum aduersarii, inuiti licet, concederent, adlatus est quidam de genere Anglorum, oculorum luce priuatus; qui cum oblatus Brettonum sacerdotibus nil curationis uel sanationis horum ministerio

length there was no help for it, but Augustine was compelled to bow his knees to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to pray that He would restore to the blind man his lost sight, and by the bodily enlightenment of one man would kindle the grace of spiritual light in the hearts of many believers. The blind man was immediately enlightened, and Augustine was hailed by all as the true herald of the Light Most High. Thereupon the Britons acknowledged that the way preached by Augustine was, they saw, the true way of righteousness, but that they could not resign their ancestral customs without the consent and sanction of their brethren. So they asked that a synod might again be held, with a larger number of attendants.

This was arranged. There came, it is said, seven British bishops and many men of great learning, particularly from a famous monastery of theirs, called

perciperet, tandem Augustinus, iusta necessitate conpulsus, flectit genua sua ad Patrem Domini nostri Iesu Christi, deprecans, ut uisum caeco, quem amiserat, restitueret, et per inluminationem unius hominis corporalem, in plurimorum corde fidelium spiritalis gratiam lucis accenderet. Nec mora, inluminatur caecus, ac uerus summae lucis praeco ab omnibus praedicatur Augustinus. Tum Brettones confitentur quidem intellexisse se ueram esse uiam iustitiae, quam praedicaret Augustinus; sed non se posse absque suorum consensu ac licentia priscis abdicare moribus. Unde postulabant, ut secundo synodus pluribus aduenientibus fieret.

Quod cum esset statutum, uenerunt, ut perhibent, VII Brettonum episcopi et plures uiri doctissimi, maxime de nobilissimo eorum monasterio, quod uocatur lingua Anglorum

in English Bangorbury; of which the Abbot Dinoot is said to have been the head at that time. Before coming to the council, they resorted to a wise and holy man who lived a hermit's life among them, and enquired of him whether they ought to forsake their traditions for the preaching of Augustine. He answered, 'If he is a man of God, follow him.' 'And how,' said they, 'shall we be able to prove it?' He replied, 'The Lord said, *Take My yoke upon you, and learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly of heart.* If this Augustine therefore is meek and lowly of heart, we may well suppose that he bears Christ's yoke himself, and is offering it to you to bear; but if he is harsh and haughty, it is plain that he is not of God, and we need not mind what he says.' They said once more, 'And how shall we tell even that?' 'Make sure,' he answered, 'that Augustine and his companions come first to the place of synod, and if,

Bancornaburg, cui tempore illo Dinoot abbas praefuisse narratur, qui ad praefatum ituri concilium uenerunt primo ad quendam uirum sanctum ac prudentem, qui apud eos anachoreticam ducere uitam solebat, consulentes, an ad praedicationem Augustini suas deserere traditiones deberent. Qui respondebat: 'Si homo Dei est, sequimini illum.' Dixerunt: 'Et unde hoc possumus probare?' At ille: 'Dominus,' inquit, 'ait: *Tollite iugum meum super uos, et discite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis corde.* Si ergo Augustinus ille mitis est et humilis corde, credibile est, quia iugum Christi et ipse portet, et uobis portandum offerat; sin autem inmitis ac superbus est, constat, quia non est de Deo, neque nobis eius sermo curandus.' Qui rursus aiebant: 'Et unde uel hoc dinoscere ualemus?' 'Procurate,' inquit, 'ut ipse prior cum suis ad locum synodi adueniat, et, si uobis

on your approach, he rises to meet you, you will know that he is a servant of Christ, and will hear him with deference; but if he makes light of you, and will not stand up in your presence, when you are the larger party, then you may make light of him.'

They did as he said. It came to pass that on their arrival Augustine was seated in his chair. As soon as they saw this, they became angry; and setting him down as guilty of haughtiness, they laboured to gainsay everything he said. What he said to them was to this effect. 'There are many points in which you act contrary to our custom, and indeed to that of the universal Church; yet if you will follow my advice in three things,—to keep Easter at the proper season; to complete the ministry of baptism, in which we are born again to God, after the manner of the holy Roman Apostolic Church[1]; and to join us in preaching the word

adpropinquantibus adsurrexerit, scientes, quia famulus Christi est, obtemperanter illum audite; sin autem uos spreuerit, nec coram uobis adsurgere uoluerit, cum sitis numero plures, et ipse spernatur a uobis.'

Fecerunt, ut dixerat. Factumque est, ut uenientibus illis sederet Augustinus in sella. Quod illi uidentes mox in iram conuersi sunt, eumque notantes superbiae, cunctis, quae dicebat, contradicere laborabant. Dicebat autem eis quia 'in multis quidem nostrae consuetudini, immo uniuersalis ecclesiae contraria geritis; et tamen si in tribus his mihi obtemperare uultis, ut pascha suo tempore celebretis; ut ministerium baptizandi, quo Deo renascimur, iuxta morem sanctae Romanae et apostolicae ecclesiae conpleatis; ut genti

[1] See Dissertation IV. p. 248.

of the Lord to the English nation,—we will make no trouble of putting up with all the other things which you do, however contrary to our ways.' But they replied that they would do none of these things, and that they would not have him for their archbishop, saying in consultation with one another, 'If he will not rise up to meet us now, how much more will he despise us as of no account, if once we come under his authority.'

The man of the Lord, Augustine, is said thereupon to have uttered the threatening prophecy, that if they would not receive peace with their brethren, they would get war from their enemies, and that if they would not preach the way of life to the English people, they would in revenge find death at their hands. This prophecy was in every point fulfilled by the action of Divine judgment.

Anglorum una nobiscum uerbum Domini praedicetis; cetera, quae agitis, quamuis moribus nostris contraria, aequanimiter cuncta tolerabimus.' At illi nil horum se facturos, neque illum pro archiepiscopo habituros esse respondebant; conferentes ad inuicem, quia 'si modo nobis adsurgere noluit, quanto magis, si ei subdi coeperimus, iam nos pro nihilo contemnet.'

Quibus uir Domini Augustinus fertur minitans praedixisse, quia, si pacem cum fratribus accipere nollent, bellum ab hostibus forent accepturi; et, si nationi Anglorum noluissent uiam uitae praedicare, per horum manus ultionem essent mortis passuri. Quod ita per omnia, ut praedixerat, diuino agente iudicio patratum est.

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XVII. *Death of Augustine after consecrating his successor and two other Bishops.*

(Bede II. iii., iv.)

In the year of our Lord's Incarnation 604, Augustine the Archbishop of Britain ordained two bishops, namely Mellitus and Justus,—Mellitus to preach to the province of the East Saxons, who are divided from Kent by the river Thames, and are contiguous to the Eastern Sea. Their capital is the city of London, which is situated on the bank of that river, and is the emporium of many races coming by land and by sea. Of that race Sabert was king at the time, a nephew of Ethelbert's through his sister Ricula. Though king, he was subject to the overlordship of Ethelbert, who, as I said before, had imperial power over all the English races as far as the river Humber. As soon as that province also received the word of truth by the preaching of Mellitus, King Ethelbert erected in the city of London the church of

Anno dominicae incarnationis DCIIII^mo^, Augustinus Brittaniarum archiepiscopus ordinauit duos episcopos, Mellitum uidelicet et Iustum; Mellitum quidem ad praedicandum prouinciae Orientalium Saxonum, qui Tamense fluuio dirimuntur a Cantia, et ipsi orientali mari contigui, quorum metropolis Lundonia ciuitas est, super ripam praefati fluminis posita, et ipsa multorum emporium populorum terra marique uenientium; in qua uidelicet gente tunc temporis Saberct nepos Aedilbercti ex sorore Ricula regnabat, quamuis sub potestate positus eiusdem Aedilbercti, qui omnibus, ut supra dictum est, usque ad terminum Humbrae fluminis Anglorum gentibus imperabat. Ubi uero et haec prouincia uerbum ueritatis praedicante Mellito accepit, fecit rex Aedilberct in ciuitate Lundonia

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St Paul the Apostle, for him and his successors to have as the place of their episcopal see. Justus was ordained bishop by Augustine in Kent itself at the city of Dorubrevis, which is called by the English, after Roff, a former chieftain there, Rochester. It is about 24 miles to the west of Canterbury; and there King Ethelbert erected the church of the blessed Apostle Andrew, and he gave to the bishops of both these churches many gifts, as he did to the Bishop of Canterbury, and added, moreover, lands and properties for the benefit of the bishops' companions.

Now our father Augustine, the beloved of God, died; and his body was buried out of doors, beside the church of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, of which I have spoken; because it was not yet completed or consecrated. Directly after the consecration, however, it was brought inside, and suitably interred in the north aisle, where

ecclesiam sancti Pauli apostoli, in qua locum sedis episcopalis et ipse et successores eius haberent. Iustum uero in ipsa Cantia Augustinus episcopum ordinauit in ciuitate Dorubreui, quam gens Anglorum a primario quondam illius, qui dicebatur Hrof, Hrofaescaestrae cognominat. Distat autem a Doruuerni milibus passuum ferme XXIIII ad occidentem, in qua rex Aedilberct ecclesiam beati Andreae apostoli fecit, qui etiam episcopis utriusque huius ecclesiae dona multa, sicut et Doruuernensis, obtulit; sed et territoria ac possessiones in usum eorum, qui erant cum episcopis, adiecit.

Defunctus est autem Deo dilectus pater Augustinus, et positum corpus eius foras iuxta ecclesiam beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, cuius supra meminimus, quia necdum fuerat perfecta nec dedicata. Mox uero ut dedicata est, intro inlatum, et in porticu illius aquilonali decenter sepultum est;

the bodies of all the subsequent archbishops have been entombed, except two—Theodore and Brightwald,—whose bodies were laid in the church itself, because the aisle could hold no more. The aisle contains, almost in the middle of it, an altar dedicated in honour of the blessed Pope Gregory, at which every Saturday their memorial masses are solemnly celebrated by a presbyter of the place. Inscribed upon the tomb of Augustine is the following epitaph:—

'Here rests the Lord Augustine, first Archbishop of Canterbury, who, being sent hither by the blessed Gregory Bishop of the city of Rome, and supported by God with the working of miracles, brought King Ethelbert and his people from the worship of idols to the faith of Christ, and, having fulfilled in peace the days of his ministry, died May 26, in the reign of the same King[1].'

in qua etiam sequentium archiepiscoporum omnium sunt corpora tumulata praeter duorum tantummodo, id est Theodori et Berctualdi, quorum corpora in ipsa ecclesia posita sunt, eo quod praedicta porticus plura capere nequiuit. Habet haec in medio paene sui altare in honore beati papae Gregorii dedicatum, in quo per omne sabbatum a presbytero loci illius agendae eorum sollemniter celebrantur. Scriptum uero est in tumba eiusdem Augustini epitaphium huiusmodi: 'Hic requiescit domnus Augustinus Doruuernensis archiepiscopus primus, qui olim huc a beato Gregorio Romanae urbis pontifice directus, et a Deo operatione miraculorum suffultus, Aedilberctum regem ac gentem illius ab idolorum cultu ad Christi fidem perduxit, et conpletis in pace diebus officii sui, defunctus est VII Kalendas Iunias, eodem rege regnante.'

[1] The year of Augustine's death is uncertain. Thorn (col. 1765), who represents the Canterbury tradition, gives 605, and argues against another

Augustine was succeeded in his bishopric by Lawrence, whom in his lifetime he had ordained for the purpose, in order that a church in so rudimentary a state might not at his death be imperilled even for an hour for want of a pastor. In this he followed the example of the first pastor of the church, the most blessed Chief of the Apostles Peter; who, when the Church of Christ was founded at Rome, is said to have consecrated Clement to be his coadjutor in preaching the gospel and afterwards his successor[1].

Successit Augustino in episcopatum Laurentius, quem ipse idcirco adhuc uiuens ordinauerat, ne, se defuncto, status ecclesiae tam rudis uel ad horam pastore destitutus uacillare inciperet. In quo et exemplum sequebatur primi pastoris ecclesiae, hoc est beatissimi apostolorum principis Petri, qui, fundata Romae ecclesia Christi, Clementem sibi adiutorem euangelizandi, simul et successorem consecrasse perhibetur.

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alleged date. But he supplies two facts which are against his own date. (1) He says, along with Florence of Worcester, that it took place on a Tuesday; which would suit with 604, but not with 605. (2) He quotes a *textus sancti Adriani* which affirms that Gregory and Augustine died in the same year; and it seems certain, in spite of Bede ii. 1, that Gregory died in 604. Haddan and Stubbs, indeed, though they accept the date 604 for St Augustine's death, say that 'the alleged synchronism...in a writer of Thorn's date is worthless' (*Councils and Eccl. Doc.* iii. 4); but they do not observe that Thorn is quoting from an earlier authority. The *Adrianus* in question was Theodore's companion on his journey to England in 668; and even if the *textus* be not genuine (which we have no means of judging) it must be much older than Thorn's time.

[1] It is needless to say that this statement with regard to St Clement rests upon no historical foundation.

XVIII. *Lawrence's attempts at union with the Celtic Churches. Mellitus attends a Council at Rome.*

(Bede II. iv.)

When Lawrence had attained the position of Archbishop, he sought very vigorously to add to those foundations of the church, which he saw so nobly laid, and to carry it on and up to the due height, both by the constant word of holy exhortation, and by the unbroken example of pious activity. For not contented with the care of the new church gathered from the English, he expended his pastoral care also upon the ancient inhabitants of Britain, and upon the Scottish tribes who inhabit the isle of Ireland, adjacent to Britain. Learning that the life and profession of the Scots, in their country, like that of the Britons in Britain, was in many things unchurchlike,—particularly because they celebrated Easter at the wrong time, thinking, as I showed before, that the Lord's Resurrection Day was to

Laurentius archiepiscopi gradu potitus strennuissime fundamenta ecclesiae, quae nobiliter iacta uidit, augmentare, atque ad profectum debiti culminis, et crebra uoce sanctae exhortationis et continuis piae operationis exemplis, prouehere curauit. Denique non solum nouae, quae de Anglis erat collecta, ecclesiae curam gerebat, sed et ueterum Brittaniae incolarum, nec non et Scottorum, qui Hiberniam insulam Brittaniae proximam incolunt, populis pastoralem inpendere sollicitudinem curabat. Siquidem ubi Scottorum in praefata ipsorum patria, quomodo et Brettonum in ipsa Brittania, uitam ac professionem minus ecclesiasticam in multis esse cognouit, maxime quod paschae sollemnitatem non suo tempore celebrarent, sed, ut supra docuimus, a XIIII^{a} luna usque ad XX^{am}

be kept between the fourteenth and twentieth days of the moon,—he wrote them a hortatory letter, in conjunction with his fellow bishops, entreating and imploring them to keep the unity of peace and of Catholic observance along with the Church of Christ dispersed throughout the world. The letter begins thus:—

'To our dear brethren the Lords Bishops and Abbots throughout the land of the Scots, Lawrence, Mellitus, and Justus, Bishops, servants of God's servants.

'Having been sent by the Apostolic See to preach to the heathen tribes in these western regions, according to the usage of that See all over the world, we have been permitted to make an entrance into this island of Britain. Before we knew the facts, we, supposing that they walked according to the custom of the universal church, held in great reverence for their sanctity both the Britons and the Scots; but when we came to know

dominicae resurrectionis diem obseruandum esse putarent; scripsit cum coepiscopis suis exhortatoriam ad eos epistulam, obsecrans eos et contestans unitatem pacis et catholicae obseruationis cum ea, quae toto orbe diffusa est, ecclesia Christi tenere; cuius uidelicet epistulae principium hoc est:

Dominis carissimis fratribus episcopis uel abbatibus per uniuersam Scottiam Laurentius, Mellitus, et Iustus episcopi, serui seruorum Dei.

Dum nos sedes apostolica more suo, sicut in uniuerso orbe terrarum, in his occiduis partibus ad praedicandum gentibus paganis dirigeret, atque in hanc insulam, quae Brittania nuncupatur, contigit introisse; antequam cognosceremus, credentes, quod iuxta morem uniuersalis ecclesiae ingrederentur, in magna reuerentia sanctitatis tam Brettones quam Scottos uenerati sumus;

the Britons, we thought that the Scots must be better than they. Through Bishop Dagan, however, who came to this island, and through the abbot Columban who came to Gaul, we have learned that the Scots are not at all different in their ways from the Britons. For when Bishop Dagan came to us, he not only refused to eat with us, but refused to eat at all in the same lodging where we ate.'

To the British bishops also Lawrence with his fellow bishops sent a letter suitable to their degree, in which he endeavours to confirm them in the Catholic unity; but how much good these proceedings did, present circumstances show.

At this time Mellitus, Bishop of London, went to Rome, to treat with the Apostolic Pope Boniface on points of importance to the English Church. And when that most reverend Pope called together a synod of the

sed cognoscentes Brettones, Scottos meliores putauimus. Scottos uero per Daganum episcopum in hanc, quam superius memorauimus, insulam, et Columbanum abbatem in Gallis uenientem nihil discrepare a Brettonibus in eorum conuersatione didicimus. Nam Daganus episcopus ad nos ueniens, non solum cibum nobiscum, sed nec in eodem hospitio, quo uescebamur, sumere uoluit.

Misit idem Laurentius cum coepiscopis suis etiam Brettonum sacerdotibus litteras suo gradui condignas, quibus eos in unitate catholica confirmare satagit. Sed quantum haec agendo profecerit, adhuc praesentia tempora declarant.

His temporibus uenit Mellitus Lundoniae episcopus Romam, de necessariis ecclesiae Anglorum cum apostolico papa Bonifatio tractaturus. Et cum idem papa reuerentissimus

Italian bishops, to make regulations with regard to the life and peace of monks, Mellitus also sat with them (it was the eighth year of the reign of the Emperor Phocas, thirteenth Indiction, February 27)[1], in order to add the weight of his subscription to whatever was canonically decreed, and to bring the decrees, on his return to Britain, to be delivered to the English Churches for their observance, together with letters addressed by the aforesaid Pontiff to Lawrence the Archbishop, beloved of God, and the clergy in general, and likewise to King Ethelbert and the English people. This was the Boniface who was fourth Bishop of the city of Rome from the blessed Gregory.

cogeret synodum episcoporum Italiae, de uita monachorum et quiete ordinaturus, et ipse Mellitus inter eos adsedit anno VIII imperii Focatis principis, indictione XIII[a], tertio die Kalendarum Martiarum; ut quaeque erant regulariter decreta, sua quoque auctoritate subscribens confirmaret, ac Brittaniam rediens secum Anglorum ecclesiis mandanda atque obseruanda deferret, una cum epistulis, quas idem pontifex Deo dilecto archiepiscopo Laurentio et clero uniuerso, similiter et Aedilbercto regi atque genti Anglorum direxit. Hic est Bonifatius, quartus a beato Gregorio Romanae urbis episcopo.

[1] A.D. 610.

XIX. *The Pagan Reaction after the Death of Ethelbert.*

(Bede II. v., vi.)

In the year of our Lord's Incarnation 616, which was the twenty-first year after the mission of Augustine and his companions to preach to the English people, Ethelbert, King of Kent, after his glorious temporal reign of six and fifty years, entered the eternal joys of the kingdom of heaven. He was the third among the kings of the English people who ruled as overlord over all the southern provinces, which are divided from the northern by the river Humber and the boundaries adjoining it; but he was the first of all to rise to the heavenly kingdoms...King Ethelbert died on Feb. 24, twenty-one years after the receiving of the faith[1], and was buried in

Anno ab incarnatione dominica DCXVI, qui est annus XXI, ex quo Augustinus cum sociis ad praedicandum genti Anglorum missus est, Aedilberct rex Cantuariorum post regnum temporale, quod L et VI annis gloriosissime tenuerat, aeterna caelestis regni gaudia subiit; qui tertius quidem in regibus gentis Anglorum cunctis australibus eorum prouinciis, quae Humbrae fluuio et contiguis ei terminis sequestrantur a borealibus, imperauit; sed primus omnium caeli regna conscendit.

Defunctus uero est rex Aedilberct die XXIIII mensis Februarii post XX et unum annos acceptae fidei, atque in

[1] This computation can only, if at all, be made correct by counting from the first starting of the missionaries from Rome. Bede's language does not necessarily mean, as is often stated, 'twenty-one years after Ethelbert received the faith.'

the porch of St Martin inside the church of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, where also Queen Bertha is buried.

Amongst other benefits which his thoughtfulness conferred upon his people, he drew up for them, in concert with his Witenagemot, a code of judicial decisions, after the manner of the Romans, which are still extant in the English language, and remain in force among the people. The first thing laid down in this code is the penalty to be paid by any who steals anything belonging to the church, to the bishop, and to the other orders. He evidently desired to give protection to those whom he had welcomed, with their doctrine[1].

Ethelbert was the son of Irminric; whose father was Octa; and his was Eric, surnamed Ash, from whom the Kings of Kent bear the surname of the Ashings. His

porticu sancti Martini intro ecclesiam beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli sepultus, ubi et Berctae regina condita est.

Qui inter cetera bona, quae genti suae consulendo conferebat, etiam decreta illi iudiciorum, iuxta exempla Romanorum, cum consilio sapientium constituit; quae conscripta Anglorum sermone hactenus habentur, et obseruantur ab ea. In quibus primitus posuit, qualiter id emendare deberet, qui aliquid rerum uel ecclesiae, uel episcopi, uel reliquorum ordinum furto auferret; uolens scilicet tuitionem eis, quos et quorum doctrinam susceperat, praestare.

Erat autem idem Aedilberct filius Irminrici, cuius pater Octa, cuius pater Oeric cognomento Oisc, a quo reges Cantuariorum solent Oiscingas cognominare. Cuius pater

[1] Ethelbert's 'Dooms' will be found in Haddan and Stubbs *Councils and Eccl. Documents* iii. 42 foll.

father was Hengist, who with his son Ash was the first to enter Britain by invitation of Vortigern, as we have related above.

But after the death of Ethelbert, when his son Edbald had assumed the helm of government, it proved a great disaster to the still tender growth of the Church there. Edbald not only refused to accept the faith of Christ; he also polluted himself with 'such fornication, as is not so much as named (the Apostle bears witness) among the Gentiles, to have his father's wife.' By this double wickedness he gave an opportunity of returning to their vomit to those who, under his father's rule, for fear or favour of the king, had espoused the laws of faith and purity. The scourges of the severity on high were employed for the chastisement and correction of this faithless king; for he was the victim of an often recurring insanity, and of the attacks of an unclean spirit.

Hengist, qui cum filio suo Oisc inuitatus a Uurtigerno Brittaniam primus intrauit, ut supra retulimus.

At uero post mortem Aedilbercti, cum filius eius Eadbald regni gubernacula suscepisset, magno tenellis ibi adhuc ecclesiae crementis detrimento fuit. Siquidem non solum fidem Christi recipere noluerat, sed et fornicatione pollutus est tali, qualem nec inter gentes auditam apostolus testatur, ita ut uxorem patris haberet. Quo utroque scelere occasionem dedit ad priorem uomitum reuertendi his, qui sub imperio sui parentis, uel fauore uel timore regio, fidei et castimoniae iura susceperant. Nec supernae flagella districtionis perfido regi castigando et corrigendo defuere; nam crebra mentis uesania et spiritus inmundi inuasione premebatur.

This distressing storm was increased also by the death of Sabert, the King of Essex. He, in departing for the realms everlasting, left his three sons, who had remained heathen, heirs of his temporal kingdom. Thereupon they began openly to devote themselves again to the idolatry which during Sabert's lifetime they appeared to have somewhat abated, and gave their subjects free permission to worship idols. And when they saw the bishop, at the celebration of the solemnities of the mass in church, giving the Eucharist to the people[1], they said to him, according to the common story, all puffed up as they were with savage folly, 'Why do you not give us also the pretty bread which you used to give our father Saba'—so they were accustomed to call him—'and which you still go on giving the people in the church'? He answered them, 'If you will be washed in that saving font in which your father

Auxit autem procellam huiusce perturbationis etiam mors Sabercti regis Orientalium Saxonum, qui ubi regna perennia petens tres suos filios, qui pagani perduraverant, regni temporalis heredes reliquit, coeperunt illi mox idolatriae, quam, uiuente eo, aliquantulum intermisisse uidebantur, palam seruire, subiectisque populis idola colendi liberam dare licentiam. Cumque uiderent pontificem, celebratis in ecclesia missarum sollemniis, eucharistiam populo dare, dicebant, ut uulgo fertur, ad eum barbara inflati stultitia: 'Quare non et nobis porrigis panem nitidum, quem et patri nostro Saba,' sic namque eum appellare consuerant, 'dabas, et populo adhuc dare in ecclesia non desistis?' Quibus ille respondebat: 'Si uultis ablui fonte

[1] It is interesting to observe that the ancient discipline was relaxed which did not permit the unbaptized to be present at the Holy Eucharist.

was washed, you may be partakers also of the holy bread of which he partook; but if you despise the laver of life, you cannot possibly receive the bread of life.' They said, 'We will not go into that font; we know that we do not need it; but we will be fed with that bread all the same.' And when they had been often and earnestly assured by him that the thing could not be done, and that no one could share in the holy offering without the holy purification, at last in a transport of rage they said, 'If you will not gratify us in such a simple request of ours, you shall not stay any longer in our province.' So they drove him out, and ordered him to leave their kingdom, he and his.

So, on his expulsion from thence, he came to Kent to treat with his brother bishops, Lawrence and Justus, on the course to be pursued. The upshot of their consultations was that they had better all return to their

illo salutari, quo pater uester ablutus est, potestis etiam panis sancti, cui ille participabat, esse participes; sin autem lauacrum uitae contemnitis, nullatenus ualetis panem uitae percipere.' At illi: 'Nolumus,' inquiunt, 'fontem illum intrare, quia nec opus illo nos habere nouimus, sed tamen pane illo refici uolumus.' Cumque diligenter ac saepe ab illo essent admoniti nequaquam ita fieri posse, ut absque purgatione sacrosancta quis oblationi sacrosanctae communicaret, ad ultimum furore commoti aiebant: 'Si non uis adsentire nobis in tam facili causa, quam petimus, non poteris iam in nostra prouincia demorari.' Et expulerunt eum, ac de suo regno cum suis abire iusserunt.

Qui expulsus inde uenit Cantiam, tractaturus cum Laurentio et Iusto coepiscopis, quid in his esset agendum. Decretumque est communi consilio, quia satius esset, ut omnes patriam

native country, and there serve the Lord with an unhindered mind, than stay to no profit among savages who had turned against the faith. So Mellitus and Justus departed first, and withdrew to the regions of Gaul, intending there to wait upon events. But the kings who had driven away from them the herald of the truth, did not long practise the worship of devils with impunity. They went out to battle against the tribe of the Gewissians[1], and all fell, together with their troops; and although the leaders had perished, the people whom they had set on to sin, could not be corrected and recalled to the simplicity of faith and charity which is in Christ.

But when Lawrence was on the point of following Mellitus and Justus and leaving Britain, that night he ordered his bed to be made in the church of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, of which I have often spoken.

redeuntes, libera ibi mente Domino deseruirent, quam inter rebelles fidei barbaros sine fructu residerent. Discessere itaque primo Mellitus et Iustus, atque ad partes Galliae secessere, ibi rerum finem exspectare disponentes. Sed non multo tempore reges, qui praeconem a se ueritatis expulerant, daemonicis cultibus inpune seruiebant. Nam egressi contra gentem Geuissorum in proelium, omnes pariter cum sua militia corruerunt; nec, licet auctoribus perditis, excitatum ad scelera uulgus potuit recorrigi, atque ad simplicitatem fidei et caritatis, quae est in Christo, reuocari.

Cum uero et Laurentius Mellitum Iustumque secuturus ac Brittaniam esset relicturus, iussit ipsa sibi nocte in ecclesia beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, de qua frequenter iam

[1] In and about the north of Hampshire.

After pouring forth many prayers and tears to the Lord for the Church which was in such a plight, he laid himself down upon the bed to rest, and fell asleep. But the blessed Chief of the Apostles appeared to him, and plying him for a long time with severe scourging in the stillness of the night, demanded with apostolic sternness why he forsook the flock which he had entrusted to him, and to what shepherd he was leaving these sheep in the midst of wolves and fleeing. 'Hast thou,' he said, 'forgotten my example, how, for the sake of Christ's little ones, whom He had committed to me as a token of His love, I endured bonds and blows, imprisonments and afflictions, and at last death itself, even the death of the cross, at the hands of unbelievers and enemies of Christ, to be crowned with Christ in the end?' Roused by St Peter's scourge and by his exhortations, Lawrence the servant of Christ went to the king as soon as it was

diximus, stratum parari; in quo cum post multas preces ac lacrimas ad Dominum pro statu ecclesiae fusas ad quiescendum membra posuisset, atque obdormisset, apparuit ei beatissimus apostolorum princeps, et multo illum tempore secretae noctis flagellis artioribus afficiens sciscitabatur apostolica districtione, quare gregem, quem sibi ipse crediderat, relinqueret, uel cui pastorum oues Christi in medio luporum positas fugiens ipse dimitteret. 'An mei,' inquit, 'oblitus es exempli, qui pro paruulis Christi, quos mihi in indicium suae dilectionis commendauerat, uincula, uerbera, carceres, adflictiones, ipsam postremo mortem, mortem autem crucis, ab infidelibus et inimicis Christi ipse cum Christo coronandus pertuli?' His beati Petri flagellis simul et exhortationibus animatus famulus Christi Laurentius mox mane facto uenit ad regem, et, retecto

morning, and drawing aside his garment showed what blows he had been torn with. The king, much surprised, enquired who had ventured to inflict those stripes upon such a man; and when he learned that for his salvation's sake the bishop had suffered those pains and stripes at the hands of Christ's Apostle, he was greatly alarmed; and cursing all the idolatrous worship, and renouncing his unlawful marriage, he accepted the faith of Christ, and, being baptized, he set himself to promote and favour the interests of the Church in everything, to the best of his power.

He sent also to Gaul and recalled Mellitus and Justus, and bade them return and instruct his own churches freely. So they came back, a year after their departure. Justus returned to the city of Rochester, which he had before governed; but Mellitus found that the people of London would not have him back as their bishop, liking better to be under their idolatrous pontiffs.

uestimento, quantis esset uerberibus laceratus, ostendit. Qui multum miratus et inquirens, quis tanto uiro tales ausus esset plagas infligere, ut audiuit, quia suae causa salutis episcopus ab apostolo Christi tanta esset tormenta plagasque perpessus, extimuit multum; atque anathematizato omni idolatriae cultu, abdicato conubio non legitimo, suscepit fidem Christi, et baptizatus ecclesiae rebus, quantum ualuit, in omnibus consulere ac fauere curauit.

Misit etiam Galliam, et reuocauit Mellitum ac Iustum, eosque ad suas ecclesias libere instituendas redire praecepit; qui post annum, ex quo abierunt, reuersi sunt; et Iustus quidem ad ciuitatem Hrofi, cui praefuerat, rediit; Mellitum uero Lundonienses episcopum recipere noluerunt, idolatris magis pontificibus seruire gaudentes. Non enim tanta erat ei,

For Edbald had not the same kingly power as his father, to be able to restore a bishop to his church in spite of the refusal and resistance of the heathen. For himself, however, from the time of his turning to the Lord, he studied to subject himself and his people to the commandments of God; and he went so far as to build in the convent of the blessed Chief of the Apostles a church of the holy Mother of God, which was consecrated by Archbishop Mellitus.

XX. *The Archiepiscopate of Mellitus.*

(Bede II. vii.)

For while Edbald was king, the blessed Archbishop Lawrence went on high to the heavenly kingdom, and was buried in the church and monastery of the holy Apostle Peter beside his predecessor Augustine on the 2nd of February; and after him Mellitus, who was bishop at London, succeeded to the see of Canterbury,

quanta patri ipsius regni potestas, ut etiam nolentibus ac contradicentibus paganis antistitem suae posset ecclesiae reddere. Uerumtamen ipse cum sua gente, ex quo ad Dominum conuersus est, diuinis se studuit mancipare praeceptis. Denique et in monasterio beatissimi apostolorum principis ecclesiam sanctae Dei genetricis fecit, quam consecrauit archiepiscopus Mellitus.

Hoc enim regnante rege beatus archiepiscopus Laurentius regnum caeleste conscendit, atque in ecclesia et monasterio sancti apostoli Petri iuxta prodecessorem suum Augustinum sepultus est die quarto Nonarum Februariarum; post quem Mellitus, qui erat Lundoniae episcopus, sedem Doruuernensis

being the third from Augustine. Justus also was still alive, and governing the Church of Rochester. While these two were directing the English Church with great care and pains, they received a letter of exhortation from Boniface, Bishop of the Apostolic Roman See, who succeeded Deusdedit as ruler of the Church, in the year of our Lord's Incarnation 619. Mellitus laboured under the bodily infirmity of the gout; but the steps of his soul were sound, and he mounted eagerly above all earthly things, and always flew to love and seek and acquire heavenly things. He was naturally of noble birth, but nobler by the loftiness of his soul.

To give one example of his virtue, as a specimen of the rest, the city of Canterbury was once upon a time by culpable carelessness set on fire, and was in danger of being destroyed by the spread of the flames. No throwing of water was able to withstand them. A large

ecclesiae tertius ab Augustino suscepit. Iustus autem adhuc superstes Hrofensem regebat ecclesiam. Qui, cum magna ecclesiam Anglorum cura ac labore gubernarent, susceperunt scripta exhortatoria a pontifice Romanae et apostolicae sedis Bonifatio, qui post Deusdedit ecclesiae praefuit, anno incarnationis dominicae DCXVIIII. Erat autem Mellitus corporis quidem infirmitate, id est podagra, grauatus, sed mentis gressibus sanis alacriter terrena quaeque transiliens, atque ad caelestia semper amanda, petenda, et quaerenda peruolans. Erat carnis origine nobilis, sed culmine mentis nobilior.

Denique, ut unum uirtutis eius, unde cetera intellegi possint, testimonium referam, tempore quodam ciuitas Doruuernensis per culpam incuriae igni correpta crebrescentibus coepit flammis consumi; quibus cum nullo aquarum iniectu posset aliquis

part of the city was already ravaged. The raging flames extended towards the bishop's residence; when the bishop, trusting in the help of God when the help of man failed, had himself carried to meet the wild bursts of fire which flew in every direction. At the spot which was most fiercely assailed by the flames was a chapel of the Four Crowned Saints. To this, accordingly, he was brought by obedient hands; and there by prayer the sick bishop began to drive back the danger, which the hands of the whole and strong had been unable to drive back, for all their toil. Presently, the wind, which had been blowing from the south and had scattered conflagration over the city, veered and blew southwards, and first withdrew its furious violence from injuring the places upon which it bore; then sinking down altogether, while the flames likewise were lulled and quenched, it became quite calm. And as the man of God burned mightily with the fire of divine love, and as he had been practised

obsistere, iamque ciuitatis esset pars uastata non minima, atque ad episcopium furens se flamma dilataret, confidens episcopus in diuinum, ubi humanum deerat, auxilium, iussit se obuiam saeuientibus et huc illucque uolantibus ignium globis efferri. Erat autem eo loci, ubi flammarum impetus maxime incumbebat, martyrium beatorum IIII Coronatorum. Ibi ergo perlatus obsequentum manibus episcopus coepit orando periculum infirmus abigere, quod firma fortium manus multum laborando nequiuerat. Nec mora, uentus, qui a meridie flans urbi incendia sparserat, contra meridiem reflexus, primo uim sui furoris a lesione locorum, quae contra erant, abstraxit, ac mox funditus quiescendo, flammis pariter sopitis atque exstinctis, conpescuit. Et quia uir Dei igne diuinae caritatis fortiter ardebat, quia tempestates potestatum aeriarum a sua

in repelling by frequent prayers and exhortations the storms of the 'powers of the air' from hurting him and his, it was fair that he should prevail against the winds and flames of this world, and obtain immunity from them for himself and his people.

After he had ruled the Church for five years, he also passed to heaven, during the reign of Edbald, and was buried with his fathers in the often mentioned monastery and church of the blessed Chief of the Apostles, in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 624, on the 24th of April.

XXI. *The Accession of Justus.*

(Bede II. viii.)

Mellitus was immediately succeeded in his pontificate by Justus, who was Bishop of the Church of Rochester. To take his place as bishop in that Church, he consecrated Romanus, having received authority to

suorumque lesione crebris orationibus uel exhortationibus repellere consuerat, merito uentis flammisque mundialibus praeualere, et, ne sibi suisque nocerent, obtinere poterat.

Et hic ergo, postquam annis quinque rexit ecclesiam, Aeodbaldo regnante migrauit ad caelos, sepultusque est cum patribus suis in saepe dicto monasterio et ecclesia beatissimi apostolorum principis, anno ab incarnatione Domini DCXXIIII, die VIII Kalendarum Maiarum.

Cui statim successit in pontificatum Iustus, qui erat Hrofensis ecclesiae episcopus. Illi autem ecclesiae Romanum pro se consecrauit episcopum, data sibi ordinandi episcopos

ordain bishops from the pontiff Boniface, of whom I have already spoken as the successor of Deusdedit. The authorisation is in this form:—

'To my beloved brother Justus, Boniface[1].

'How devotedly and vigilantly you, brother, have laboured for the Gospel of Christ, is shown not only by the character of your letter to me, but by the completion which has been vouchsafed to your work. Almighty God has not abandoned His holy Name, nor left your labour fruitless. He has faithfully promised to the preachers of the Gospel, "Lo, I am with you all the days even unto the consummation of the world." His mercy has signally proved this in the ministry assigned to you, by opening the hearts of the nations to receive the incomparable mystery which you preach. By the help

auctoritate a pontifice Bonifatio, quem successorem fuisse Deusdedit supra meminimus; cuius auctoritatis ista est forma:

Dilectissimo fratri Iusto Bonifatius.

Quam deuote quamque etiam uigilanter pro Christi euangelio elaborauerit uestra fraternitas, non solum epistulae a uobis directae tenor, immo indulta desuper operi uestro perfectio indicauit. Nec enim omnipotens Deus aut sui nominis sacramentum, aut uestri fructum laboris deseruit, dum ipse praedicatoribus euangelii fideliter repromisit: 'Ecce ego uobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem mundi.' Quod specialiter iniuncto uobis ministerio eius clementia demonstrauit, aperiens corda gentium ad suscipiendum praedicationis uestrae singulare mysterium. Magno enim praemio fastigiorum uestrorum

[1] Much of this letter is translated by a kind of guesswork. The text appears to be corrupt; and the language of the original, though pious, is super-papal in the convolutions of its style.

of His goodness, He has adorned your Eminence's beautiful career with a great reward. You have done your duty faithfully in trading with the talents committed to you; and He has bestowed abundant fruit, preparing that which you will secure to Him as the generations increase. This is a special recompense for having persevered continually in the ministry entrusted to you, and for waiting with praiseworthy patience for the redemption of that nation; and you have won for their advantage the gift of their salvation; as the Lord says, "He that shall endure unto the end the same shall be saved." You therefore have been saved, by patient hope and manful endurance, in order that the hearts of the unbelievers, being purified from the congenital disease of superstition, may find the mercy of their Saviour. For by the letter of our Son King Adulwald[1] which we have received, we learn with what scriptural

delectabilem cursum bonitatis suae suffragiis inlustrauit, dum creditorum uobis talentorum fidelissimae negotiationis officiis uberem fructum inpendens ei, quod signare possetis multiplicatis generationibus, praeparauit. Hocque etiam illa uobis repensatione conlatum est, qua iniuncto ministerio iugiter persistentes laudabili patientia redemtionem gentis illius exspectastis, et uestris, ut proficerent, meritis eorum est saluatio propinata, dicente Domino: 'Qui perseuerauerit usque in finem, hic saluus erit.' Saluati ergo estis spe patientiae et tolerantiae uirtute, ut infidelium corda naturali ac superstitioso morbo purgata, sui consequerentur misericordiam Saluatoris. Susceptis namque apicibus filii nostri Adulualdi regis, repperimus, quanta sacri eloquii eruditione eius

[1] The king was, of course, Edbald; and unless Bede, or his authorities, have made some mistake about the person to whom the letter is addressed, Boniface must have become confused by our outlandish names.

learning you, brother, have brought his soul to a true conversion and a sincere faith. Gathering sure confidence therefore from the longsuffering clemency of heaven, we believe that you must press forward with your ministry of preaching, not only for the complete salvation of the tribes subject to him, but for that of the neighbouring tribes also; so that, as it is written, the recompense of your finished work may be given you by God, the Rewarder of all good things, and that the universal confession of the nations, on receiving the holy Christian faith, may testify that "their sound has indeed gone forth into all lands, and their words unto the ends of the world."

'Moreover, by the bearer of these presents we have sent you a pall, brother, as our earnest goodwill towards you prompted, and we authorise you to use it at the celebration of the holy mysteries and at no other time, granting you also permission to ordain bishops, when

animum ad uerae conuersionis et indubitatae fidei credulitatem fraternitas uestra perduxerit. Qua ex re de longanimitate clementiae caelestis certam adsumentes fiduciam, non solum suppositarum ei gentium plenissimam salutem, immo quoque uicinarum, uestrae praedicationis ministerio credimus subsequendam; quatinus, sicut scriptum est, consummati operis uobis merces a retributore omnium bonorum Domino tribuatur, et uere 'per omnem terram exisse sonum eorum, et in fines orbis terrae uerba ipsorum,' uniuersalis gentium confessio, suscepto Christianae sacramento fidei, protestetur.

Pallium praeterea per latorem praesentium fraternitati tuae, benignitatis studiis inuitati, direximus, quod uidelicet tantum in sacrosanctis celebrandis mysteriis utendi licentiam imperauimus; concedentes etiam tibi ordinationes episcoporum, exigente

need requires, the mercy of the Lord preventing you; so that Christ's Gospel, having many preachers, may be spread abroad among all the nations which are as yet unconverted. What the kindness of the Apostolic See has conferred on you, you, brother, will study to keep with uncorrupt sincerity of mind, remembering what is symbolized by the distinguished ornament which you are permitted to carry on your shoulders. Study to show yourself such, by prayer to the clemency of the Lord, that you may present the results of the favour bestowed on you, not with guilt, but with benefit to souls, before the tribunal of the great Judge who is to come.

'God keep you safe, beloved brother.'

opportunitate, Domini praeueniente misericordia, celebrare; ita ut Christi euangelium plurimorum adnuntiatione in omnibus gentibus, quae necdum conuersae sunt, dilatetur. Studeat ergo tua fraternitas hoc, quod sedis apostolicae humanitate percepit, intemerata mentis sinceritate seruare, intendens cuius rei similitudine tam praecipuum indumentum humeris tuis baiulandum susceperis. Talemque te Domini inplorata clementia exhibendum stude, ut indulti muneris praemia non cum reatitudine, sed cum commodis animarum ante tribunal summi et uenturi Iudicis repraesentes.

Deus te incolumem custodiat, dilectissime frater.

XXII. *Conversion of Northumbria by Paulinus.*

(Bede II. ix., xiii., xiv.)

At this time also the Northumbrian people,—that is the English tribe dwelling to the north of the river Humber,—received the word of faith, along with their king, Edwin, by the preaching of Paulinus, whom I have mentioned before. This king, in happy accord with his reception of the faith and of the kingdom of heaven, had acquired also an increase of earthly dominion; so that he had beneath his sway, what no Englishman before him had, all the regions of Britain, whether inhabited by the English or by the Britons.

The occasion of the reception of the faith by this nation was that their king aforesaid was joined by affinity to the kings of Kent, having taken to wife Ethelberga the daughter of King Ethelbert, otherwise known as Tata. When he first sent suitors to request

Quo tempore etiam gens Nordanhymbrorum, hoc est ea natio Anglorum, quae ad Aquilonalem Humbre fluminis plagam habitabat, cum rege suo Aeduino uerbum fidei praedicante Paulino, cuius supra meminimus, suscepit. Cui uidelicet regi, in auspicium suscipiendae fidei et regni caelestis, potestas etiam terreni creuerat imperii; ita ut, quod nemo Anglorum ante eum, omnes Brittaniae fines, qua uel ipsorum uel Brettonum prouinciae habitabant, sub dicione acciperet.

Huic autem genti occasio fuit percipiendae fidei, quod praefatus rex eius cognatione iunctus est regibus Cantuariorum, accepta in coniugem Aedilbergae filia Aedilbercti regis, quae alio nomine Tatae uocabatur. Huius consortium cum primo

this alliance from the lady's brother Edbald, then reigning over Kent, he was told that a Christian maiden was not allowed to be given in marriage to a heathen, lest the faith and sacraments of the heavenly King should be profaned by commerce with a king who was wholly unacquainted with the worship of the true God. When his envoys related these words to Edwin, he promised that he would do nothing in any way hostile to the Christian faith which the maiden practised, but that he would allow her to observe the faith and worship of her religion in the Christian fashion; together with all who came with her, men and women, bishops and clergy. Nor did he refuse to submit to that religion himself, if on being examined by prudent men it should be found holier and more worthy of God.

So the maiden was promised, and was sent to Edwin; and, according to the agreement, the man beloved of God, Paulinus, was ordained bishop, to go

ipse missis procis a fratre eius Aeodbaldo, qui tunc regno Cantuariorum praeerat, peteret; responsum est non esse licitum Christianam uirginem pagano in coniugem dari, ne fides et sacramenta caelestis regis consortio profanarentur regis, qui ueri Dei cultus esset prorsus ignarus. Quae cum Aeduino uerba nuntii referrent, promisit se nil omnimodis contrarium Christianae fidei, quam uirgo colebat, esse facturum; quin potius permissurum, ut fidem cultumque suae religionis cum omnibus, qui secum uenissent, uiris siue feminis, sacerdotibus seu ministris, more Christiano seruaret. Neque abnegauit se etiam eandem subiturum esse religionem; si tamen examinata a prudentibus sanctior ac Deo dignior posset inueniri.

Itaque promittitur uirgo, atque Aeduino mittitur, et iuxta quod dispositum fuerat, ordinatur episcopus uir Deo dilectus

with her, and confirm her and her companions by daily exhortation and by the celebration of the heavenly sacraments, lest they should be defiled by intercourse with the heathen.

Paulinus was ordained bishop by Archbishop Justus, on the 21st of July, in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 625, and so came with the maiden to King Edwin like a wedding attendant, all the time, however, much more intent upon calling the nation to which he was going to the acknowledgment of the truth, and upon presenting them, in the Apostle's phrase, like a chaste virgin to one true Husband, even Christ. On arriving in the province, he laboured much to keep in hand those who had come with him, by the Lord's help, that they might not be untrue to their faith, and, if it were possible, to convert some from among the heathen to the grace of faith by his preaching. But as the Apostle

Paulinus, qui cum illa ueniret, eamque et comites eius, ne paganorum possent societate pollui, cotidiana et exhortatione, et sacramentorum caelestium celebratione confirmaret.

Ordinatus est autem Paulinus episcopus a Iusto archiepiscopo, sub die XII Kalendarum Augustarum, anno ab incarnatione Domini DCXXV; et sic cum praefata uirgine ad regem Aeduinum quasi comes copulae carnalis aduenit. Sed ipse potius toto animo intendens, ut gentem, quam adibat, ad agnitionem ueritatis aduocans, iuxta uocem apostoli, uni uero sponso uirginem castam exhiberet Christo. Cumque in prouinciam uenisset, laborauit multum, ut et eos, qui secum uenerant, ne a fide deficerent, Domino adiuuante contineret, et aliquos, si forte posset, de paganis ad fidei gratiam praedicando conuerteret. Sed sicut apostolus ait, quamuis multo tempore

says, in spite of his labouring long time in the word, 'the God of this world blinded the minds of them that believed not, lest the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ should shine upon them.'

But in the following year [Edwin on Easter Day was barely saved from an assassin, sent by Cuichelm, King of Wessex; and][1] that same sacred Easter night the queen had borne to the king a daughter, Eanfled; and when the king, in the presence of Bishop Paulinus, gave thanks to his gods for his daughter's birth, the Bishop on the other hand began to give thanks to the Lord Christ, and to give the king to understand that by his own prayers he had obtained from Christ a safe and comparatively painless delivery for the queen. The king was pleased at what he said, and promised in return that he would renounce idols and serve Christ, if Christ would grant him life and victory in fighting against the king by whom the assassin who wounded

illo laborante in uerbo: 'Deus saeculi huius excaecauit mentes infidelium, ne eis fulgeret inluminatio euangelii gloriae Christi.'

Anno autem sequente...eadem nocte sacrosancta dominici paschae pepererat regina filiam regi, cui nomen Aeanfled. Cumque idem rex, praesente Paulino episcopo, gratias ageret diis suis pro nata sibi filia, e contra episcopus gratias coepit agere Domino Christo, regique adstruere, quod ipse precibus suis apud illum obtinuerit, ut regina sospes et absque dolore graui sobolem procrearet. Cuius uerbis delectatus rex promisit se, abrenuntiatis idolis, Christo seruiturum, si uitam sibi et uictoriam donaret pugnanti aduersus regem, a quo homicida ille, qui eum uulnerauerat, missus est; et in pignus

[1] I have here given a résumé of the story, because Bede tells it at a length which is unnecessary for the present purpose.

him had been sent; and as a pledge of the fulfilment of his promise, he committed his daughter to Bishop Paulinus to be dedicated to Christ. She was christened on the holy day of Pentecost—the first Northumbrian to be christened—with eleven others of the household.

At that season, the king being healed of his wound, gathered together an army and went against the West Saxon nation; and when the war was begun, he either slew or received the surrender of all those of whom he had learned that they were concerned in the plot upon his life. Thus returning home a conqueror, he would not immediately and heedlessly receive the sacraments of the Christian faith,—although he never again served the idols, after the time that he had promised to serve Christ;—but he was careful first to learn diligently the reason of the faith, by waiting, and from the lips of the venerable Paulinus, and to take counsel with those whom he knew to be the wisest of his chieftains, what

promissionis inplendae, eandem filiam suam Christo consecrandam Paulino episcopo adsignauit; quae baptizata est die sancto pentecostes prima de gente Nordanhymbrorum, cum XI aliis de familia eius.

Quo tempore curatus a uulnere sibi pridem inflicto, rex collecto exercitu uenit aduersus gentem Occidentalium Saxonum, ac bello inito uniuersos, quos in necem suam conspirasse didicerat, aut occidit, aut in deditionem recepit. Sicque uictor in patriam reuersus, non statim et inconsulte sacramenta fidei Christianae percipere uoluit; quamuis nec idolis ultra seruiuit, ex quo se Christo seruiturum esse promiserat. Uerum primo diligentius ex tempore, et ab ipso uenerabili uiro Paulino rationem fidei ediscere, et cum suis primatibus, quos sapientiores nouerat, curauit conferre, quid de his agendum

steps they thought should be taken. He himself, however, like a man of great natural sagacity, often sat alone for a long time together in silence, holding many a conversation with himself in the depth of his heart, considering what he ought to do, and what religion he should observe...[1].

Still he said that he would confer upon the point with the princes his friends, and with his counsellors, in order that if their sentiments agreed with his they might all be dedicated to Christ together in the font of life. With the approval of Paulinus, he did as he had said. Holding a Witenagemot, he asked them all, one by one, what they thought of this teaching, never before known to them, and of the new divine worship which was preached to them.

His head priest, Coifi, immediately answered, 'See to it yourself, O king, what manner of thing this is which

arbitrarentur. Sed et ipse, cum esset uir natura sagacissimus, saepe diu solus residens ore quidem tacito, sed in intimis cordis multa secum conloquens, quid sibi esset faciendum, quae religio seruanda tractabat....

Uerum adhuc cum amicis principibus et consiliariis suis sese de hoc conlaturum esse dicebat, ut, si et illi eadem cum illo sentire uellent, omnes pariter in fonte uitae Christo consecrarentur. Et adnuente Paulino, fecit, ut dixerat. Habito enim cum sapientibus consilio, sciscitabatur singillatim ab omnibus, qualis sibi doctrina haec eatenus inaudita, et nouus diuinitatis, qui praedicabatur, cultus uideretur.

Cui primus pontificum ipsius Coifi continuo respondit: 'Tu uide, rex, quale sit hoc, quod nobis modo praedicatur;

[1] Here comes in Bede the story which will be found in a short form below, p. 193.

is now preached to us; I acknowledge to you frankly, what I have learned beyond a doubt, that there is no power and no profit whatever in the religion which we have hitherto held. None of your people has given himself with greater pains to the service of our gods than I; yet there are many who receive larger benefits and greater dignities from you, and have better luck in all their plans of doing and getting. Now if the gods had any power, they would rather help me, their more devoted worshipper. The result is this:—if on examination you find that the new things now preached to us are better and stronger, let us hasten to adopt them without any delay.'

This advice and these prudent words were approved by another of the king's thegns, who spoke next, and added; 'Man's present life upon earth, O king, seems to me, when compared with that time beyond of which

ego autem tibi uerissime, quod certum didici, profiteor, quia nihil omnino uirtutis habet, nihil utilitatis religio illa, quam hucusque tenuimus. Nullus enim tuorum studiosius quam ego culturae deorum nostrorum se subdidit; et nihilominus multi sunt, qui ampliora a te beneficia quam ego, et maiores accipiunt dignitates, magisque prosperantur in omnibus, quae agenda uel adquirenda disponunt. Si autem dii aliquid ualerent, me potius iuuare uellent, qui illis inpensius seruire curaui. Unde restat, ut si ea, quae nunc nobis noua praedicantur, meliora esse et fortiora, habita examinatione perspexeris, absque ullo cunctamine suscipere illa festinemus.'

Cuius suasioni uerbisque prudentibus alius optimatum regis tribuens assensum, continuo subdidit: 'Talis,' inquiens, 'mihi uidetur, rex, uita hominum praesens in terris, ad conparationem eius, quod nobis incertum est, temporis, quale cum te residente

we know nothing, to be like as if, when you are sitting at supper with your aldermen and thegns in the winter time, and a fire is lighted in the middle and the hall is warmed, but all outside storms of wintry rain and snow are raging, some sparrow were to come and fly very quickly through the house, in at one door, and out at another. During the time that he is inside, he is untouched by the winter storm, but when that little moment of calm has run out, he passes again from the winter into the winter, and you lose sight of him. So this life of men appears for a little while; but what follows it, and what went before it, we do not know at all. So if this new teaching has brought us anything sure, we should do well, I think, to follow it.' The rest of the aldermen and of the king's counsellors by God's instigation followed in a similar strain.

Coifi added that he would like to hear Paulinus

ad caenam cum ducibus ac ministris tuis tempore brumali, accenso quidem foco in medio, et calido effecto caenaculo, furentibus autem foris per omnia turbinibus hiemalium pluuiarum uel niuium, adueniens unus passerum domum citissime peruolauerit; qui cum per unum ostium ingrediens, mox per aliud exierit. Ipso quidem tempore, quo intus est, hiemis tempestate non tangitur, sed tamen paruissimo spatio serenitatis ad momentum excurso, mox de hieme in hiemem regrediens, tuis oculis elabitur. Ita haec uita hominum ad modicum apparet; quid autem sequatur, quidue praecesserit, prorsus ignoramus. Unde si haec noua doctrina certius aliquid attulit, merito esse sequenda uidetur.' His similia et ceteri maiores natu ac regis consiliarii diuinitus admoniti prosequebantur.

Adiecit autem Coifi, quia uellet ipsum Paulinum diligentius

speak more explicitly of the God whom he preached. When at the king's commandment he did so, Coifi hearing his words cried aloud, 'I saw long ago that what we worshipped was nothing at all; because the more carefully I sought for the truth in that worship, the less I found it. But now I openly acknowledge that in this preaching shines the truth which is able to give us the gifts of life, and health, and everlasting happiness. Therefore I propose, O king, that we should at once give over to ban and fire the temples and altars which we have consecrated to no profit.'

To make a long story short, the king gave his adhesion openly to the preaching of the blessed Paulinus, and renouncing idolatry acknowledged that he adopted the faith of Christ. And when he asked the aforesaid high priest of his sacrifices, who should be the first to desecrate the idol altars and temples, with the enclosures in which they stood, he answered, 'I. In my

audire de Deo, quem praedicabat, uerbum facientem. Quod cum iubente rege faceret, exclamauit auditis eius sermonibus dicens: 'Iam olim intellexeram nihil esse, quod colebamus; quia uidelicet, quanto studiosius in eo cultu ueritatem quaerebam, tanto minus inueniebam. Nunc autem aperte profiteor, quia in hac praedicatione ueritas claret illa, quae nobis uitae, salutis, et beatitudinis aeternae dona ualet tribuere. Unde suggero, rex, ut templa et altaria, quae sine fructu utilitatis sacrauimus, ocius anathemati et igni contradamus.' Quid plura? praebuit palam adsensum euangelizanti beato Paulino rex, et, abrenuntiata idolatria, fidem se Christi suscipere confessus est. Cumque a praefato pontifice sacrorum suorum quaereret, quis aras et fana idolorum cum septis, quibus erant circumdata, primus profanare deberet; ille respondit: 'Ego.

folly I worshipped them, and who rather than I should set an example to all by destroying them in the wisdom given me by the true God?' Immediately casting away vain superstition, he begged the king to give him armour and a stallion horse, to ride to the destruction of the idols: for the high priest had not been allowed to carry arms, or to ride anything but a mare. So he was girded with a sword and took lance in hand, and mounting the king's stallion proceeded to the idols. When the multitude saw it, they thought him mad. As soon as he drew near the temple, he flung at it the lance which he held, and desecrated it forthwith; and much delighted with the acknowledgment of the worship of the true God, he bade his companions destroy and set on fire the temple and all its enclosures. The place—the former place of idols—is shown not far from York, towards the east, the other side of the river Derwent,

Quis enim ea, quae per stultitiam colui, nunc ad exemplum omnium aptius quam ipse per sapientiam mihi a Deo uero donatam destruam?' Statimque, abiecta superstitione uanitatis, rogauit sibi regem arma dare et equum emissarium, quem ascendens ad idola destruenda ueniret. Non enim licuerat pontificem sacrorum uel arma ferre, uel praeter in equa equitare. Accinctus ergo gladio accepit lanceam in manu, et ascendens emissarium regis, pergebat ad idola. Quod aspiciens uulgus, aestimabat eum insanire. Nec distulit ille, mox ut adpropiabat ad fanum, profanare illud, iniecta in eo lancea, quam tenebat; multumque gauisus de agnitione ueri Dei cultus, iussit sociis destruere ac succendere fanum cum omnibus septis suis. Ostenditur autem locus ille quondam idolorum non longe ab Eburaco ad orientem, ultra amnem

and is now called Goodmanham, where the high priest, by inspiration of the true God, defiled and destroyed 'the altars which he had himself consecrated[1].'

So King Edwin received the faith and the laver of holy regeneration, together with all the nobles of his nation and a very great number of the people, in the eleventh year of his reign, which is the year of the Lord's Incarnation 627, about the 180th year from the arrival of the English in Britain. He was christened at York, on the holy day of Easter, April 12, in the church of the Apostle Peter, which he built there hastily of wood, while he was a catechumen under instruction for his baptism. In this city he gave his teacher and prelate Paulinus his episcopal see. As soon as he was baptized, however, he made plans, under Paulinus' direction, for constructing of stone a larger and statelier basilica upon

Doruuentionem, et uocatur hodie Godmunddingaham, ubi pontifex ipse, inspirante Deo uero, polluit ac destruxit eas, quas ipse sacrauerat, aras.

Igitur accepit rex Aeduini cum cunctis gentis suae nobilibus ac plebe perplurima fidem et lauacrum sanctae regenerationis anno regni sui XI, qui est annus dominicae incarnationis DCXXVII, ab aduentu uero Anglorum in Brittaniam annus circiter CLXXX^mus^. Baptizatus est autem Eburaci die sancto paschae pridie Iduum Aprilium in ecclesia Petri apostoli, quam ibidem ipse de ligno, cum cathecizaretur, atque ad percipiendum baptisma inbueretur, citato opere construxit. In qua etiam ciuitate ipsi doctori atque antistiti suo Paulino sedem episcopatus donauit. Mox autem ut baptisma consecutus est, curauit, docente eodem Paulino, maiorem ipso in loco et augustiorem de lapide fabricare basilicam, in cuius medio

[1] The words are a quotation from Virgil.

the same spot, in the middle of which he wished his earlier chapel to be enclosed. So the foundations were laid round about the former chapel, and he began to build the basilica on all four sides. But before the walls had reached their full height, the king was wickedly slain, and left the work to be finished by his successor Oswald. But Paulinus preached the word of God in that province, with the consent and goodwill of Edwin, after the date of the baptism for six years without a break, that is to say, until the end of the king's reign; and as many as were foreordained to eternal life believed and were baptized...[1].

The fervour of faith and the desire for the saving laver is said to have been so great at that time in the Northumbrian people, that on one occasion when Paulinus came with the king and queen to the king's abode, called At Yeverin, he was detained there with them for six and thirty days, engaged in the work of

ipsum, quod prius fecerat, oratorium includeretur. Praeparatis ergo fundamentis in gyro prioris oratorii per quadrum coepit aedificare basilicam. Sed priusquam altitudo parietis esset consummata, rex ipse impia nece occisus, opus idem successori suo Osualdo perficiendum reliquit. Paulinus autem ex eo tempore sex annis continuis, id est ad finem usque imperii regis illius, uerbum Dei, adnuente ac fauente ipso, in ea prouincia praedicabat; credebantque et baptizabantur quotquot erant praeordinati ad uitam aeternam.

Tantus autem fertur tunc fuisse feruor fidei ac desiderium lauacri salutaris genti Nordanhymbrorum, ut quodam tempore Paulinus ueniens cum rege et regina in uillam regiam, quae uocatur Adgefrin, XXXVI diebus ibidem cum eis cathecizandi

[1] The names of some of Edwin's family who were christened are omitted.

catechizing and baptizing; and on these days he did nothing else all day from morning till evening, but to instruct the people, who flocked to him from all the villages and places round, in Christ's word of salvation, and after the instruction to wash them with the laver of remission in the river Glen hard by...[1]

This was what happened in the province of Bernicia[2]; in that of Deira, where he often stayed with the king, he used to baptize in the river Swale, which flows by the village of Catterick. For the Church in those parts was only beginning to come into existence, and they had not been able to build chapels or baptisteries. However, at Donfield[3], where the king's abode then was, he made a basilica, which was afterwards burnt, as well as the whole place, by the heathens who slew

et baptizandi officio deditus moraretur; quibus diebus cunctis a mane usque ad uesperam nil aliud ageret, quam confluentem eo de cunctis uiculis ac locis plebem Christi uerbo salutis instruere, atque instructam in fluuio Gleni, qui proximus erat, lauacro remissionis abluere.

Haec quidem in prouincia Berniciorum; sed et in prouincia Deirorum, ubi saepius manere cum rege solebat, baptizabat in fluuio Sualua, qui uicum Cataractam praeterfluit. Nondum enim oratoria uel baptisteria in ipso exordio nascentis ibi ecclesiae poterant aedificari. Attamen in Campodono, ubi tunc etiam uilla regia erat, fecit basilicam, quam postmodum pagani, a quibus Aeduini rex occisus est, cum tota eadem uilla

[1] An antiquarian note about the king's villa is omitted.

[2] Bernicia was the northern, Deira the southern portion, of the Northumbrian kingdom.

[3] The place cannot be identified.

King Edwin; and instead of it, later kings made themselves an abode in a district called Leeds. The altar, however, escaped the fire, because it was of stone; and is still preserved in the monastery of the very reverend abbot and presbyter Thrydwulf, in Elmet Wood.

XXIII. *Activity of Paulinus in Lindsey. His personal Appearance.*

(Bede II. xvi.)

Paulinus also preached the word to the province of Lindsey, which is the first on the southern bank of the river Humber, and reaches to the sea. The reeve of the city of Lincoln, whose name was Blaecca, was the first whom he converted to the Lord, with all his house. And in that city he made a stone church of excellent workmanship; the roof of which has now been brought down, either by long neglect or by the hands of enemies,

succenderunt; pro qua reges posteriores fecere sibi uillam in regione, quae uocatur Loidis. Euasit autem ignem altare, quia lapideum erat; et seruatur adhuc in monasterio reuerentissimi abbatis et presbyteri Thryduulfi, quod est in silua Elmete.

Praedicabat autem Paulinus uerbum etiam prouinciae Lindissi, quae est prima ad meridianam Humbre fluminis ripam, pertingens usque ad mare, praefectumque Lindocolinae ciuitatis, cui nomen erat Blaecca, primum cum domu sua conuertit ad Dominum. In qua uidelicet ciuitate et ecclesiam operis egregii de lapide fecit; cuius tecto uel longa incuria, uel hostili manu deiecto, parietes hactenus stare uidentur, et

but the walls are still seen standing, and every year some miracles of healing are displayed on the spot for the benefit of those who seek in faith[1]. It was in this church that Paulinus, when Justus passed away to Christ, consecrated Honorius bishop in his room, as I shall relate presently in the proper place.

In regard to the conversion of this province I was told by a presbyter and abbot of the monastery of Partney, a man of great accuracy of statement, named Deda, that he had been informed by an elderly man, that he had been baptized in the middle of the day by Bishop Paulinus, in the presence of King Edwin, and with him a multitude of people, in the river Trent, near a city which is called in English Tiowulfingcaster[2]. This old man used also to describe the appearance of Paulinus, that he was a man of tall stature, somewhat bent, with

omnibus annis aliqua sanitatum miracula in eodem loco solent ad utilitatem eorum, qui fideliter quaerunt, ostendi. In qua ecclesia Paulinus, transeunte ad Christum Iusto, Honorium pro eo consecrauit episcopum, ut in sequentibus suo loco dicemus.

De huius fide prouinciae narrauit mihi presbyter et abbas quidam uir ueracissimus de monasterio Peartaneu, uocabulo Deda, retulisse sibi quendam seniorem, baptizatum se fuisse die media a Paulino episcopo, praesente rege Aeduino, et multam populi turbam in fluuio Treenta, iuxta ciuitatem, quae lingua Anglorum Tiouulfingacaestir uocatur; qui etiam effigiem eiusdem Paulini referre esset solitus, quod esset uir longae

[1] The church now goes by the name of St Paul's, which is short for St Paulinus'.

[2] The place cannot now be identified with certainty.

black hair, and spare face, and a very thin hooked nose, looking at the same time venerable and formidable. He had with him as his assistant James the deacon, a truly indefatigable man, and renowned in Christ and in the Church, who survived to our own times.

XXIV. *Letter of Pope Honorius to Edwin.*

(Bede II. xvii.)

At this time the bishopric of the Apostolic See was held by Honorius[1], the successor of Boniface, who, on learning that the Northumbrians and their king had been converted by the preaching of Paulinus to the faith and profession of Christ, sent Paulinus a pall. He also sent a letter of exhortation to King Edwin, urging him with fatherly kindness that he and they should always

staturae, paululum incuruus, nigro capillo, facie macilenta, naso adunco pertenui, uenerabilis simul et terribilis aspectu. Habuit autem secum in ministerio et Iacobum diaconum, uirum utique industrium ac nobilem in Christo et in ecclesia, qui ad nostra usque tempora permansit.

Quo tempore praesulatum sedis apostolicae Honorius Bonifatii successor habebat, qui, ubi gentem Nordanhymbrorum cum suo rege ad fidem confessionemque Christi, Paulino euangelizante, conuersam esse didicit, misit eidem Paulino pallium; misit et regi Aeduino litteras exhortatorias, paterna illum caritate accendens, ut in fide ueritatis, quam

[1] This was the unfortunate Honorius who was anathematized after his death by the Roman Church for maintaining the Monothelete heresy.

persevere and go forwards in the belief of the truth which they had received. The letter runs thus:—

'To the most excellent and eminent Lord, my son Edwin, King of the English, Honorius, Bishop, servant of God's servants, greeting.

'The soundness of your Christianity is so set on fire with faith as regards the worship of your Creator, that it shines far and wide, and being told of throughout the world bears manifold fruit of your work. You recognise that you kings hold your kingship on this condition, that having learned about your King and Creator by orthodox preaching you believe and worship God, and, as far as human faith can, you pay Him the sincere devotion of your soul. For what else can we offer to our God, except to be forward in serving Him and paying Him our vows, persevering in good deeds, and acknowledging Him as the author of mankind? And

acceperant, persistere semper ac proficere curarent. Quarum uidelicet litterarum iste est ordo:

Domino excellentissimo atque praecellentissimo filio Aeduino regi Anglorum Honorius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei salutem.

Ita Christianitatis uestrae integritas circa sui conditoris cultum fidei est ardore succensa, ut longe lateque resplendeat, et in omni mundo adnuntiata uestri operis multipliciter referat fructum. Sic enim uos reges esse cognoscitis, dum regem et Creatorem uestrum orthodoxa praedicatione edocti Deum uenerando creditis, eique, quod humana ualet condicio, mentis uestrae sinceram deuotionem exsoluitis. Quod enim Deo nostro aliud offerre ualebimus, nisi ut in bonis actibus persistentes, ipsumque auctorem humani generis confitentes, eum colere, eique uota nostra

therefore, most eminent Son, we exhort you with due fatherly kindness to be in every way forward to keep, by diligent heed and by constant prayer, what the Divine mercy has vouchsafed to you by calling you to His grace; so that He who in this present world has vouchsafed to free you from all error, and to bring you to the knowledge of His name, may also prepare for you a mansion in the heavenly home. Occupy yourself therefore with frequent reading of your Evangelist my lord Gregory of apostolic memory, and keep before your eyes that love of the Christian doctrine which he so freely showed on behalf of your souls, in order that his prayers may increase your kingdom and your people, and may present you faultless to Almighty God.

'We make a point of granting at once, with a thankful soul, the ordinances which you hoped to obtain from us on behalf of your bishops, in acknowledgment of the sincerity of your faith, which has been properly intimated

reddere festinemus? Et ideo, excellentissime fili, paterna uos caritate, qua conuenit, exhortamur, ut hoc, quod uos diuina misericordia ad suam gratiam uocare dignata est, sollicita intentione et adsiduis orationibus seruare omnimodo festinetis; ut, qui uos in praesenti saeculo ex omni errore absolutos ad agnitionem sui nominis est dignatus perducere, et caelestis patriae uobis praeparet mansionem. Praedicatoris igitur uestri domini mei apostolicae memoriae Gregorii frequenter lectione occupati, prae oculis affectum doctrinae ipsius, quem pro uestris animabus libenter exercuit, habetote; quatinus eius oratio et regnum uestrum populumque augeat, et uos omnipotenti Deo inreprehensibiles repraesentet. Ea uero, quae a nobis pro uestris sacerdotibus ordinanda sperastis, haec pro fidei uestrae sinceritate,

to us by the bearers of these presents in a variety of reports; and we have forwarded the palls of the two metropolitans, that is, for Honorius and Paulinus, in order that when one of them is summoned out of this world to his Maker, the other may elevate a bishop in his stead by this our authority. We have been drawn to grant this both by love towards you, and by reason of the many wide countries which lie between us and you[1], that in everything we might show compliance with your devotion, and in accordance with your wishes.

'May grace above keep your Excellence safe.'

quae nobis multimoda relatione per praesentium portitores laudabiliter insinuata est, gratuito animo adtribuere ulla sine dilatione praeuidemus; et duo pallia utrorumque metropolitanorum, id est Honorio et Paulino, direximus, ut, dum quis eorum de hoc saeculo ad auctorem suum fuerit arcessitus, in loco ipsius alter episcopum ex hac nostra auctoritate debeat subrogare. Quod quidem tam pro uestrae caritatis affectu, quam pro tantarum prouinciarum spatiis, quae inter nos et uos esse noscuntur, sumus inuitati concedere, ut in omnibus deuotioni uestrae nostrum concursum, et iuxta uestra desideria praeberemus.

Incolumem excellentiam uestram gratia superna custodiat.

[1] It is implied that without this permission (which, however, had already been given by Gregory) the metropolitans would have been obliged to go to Rome for consecration. See next section.

XXV. *Succession of Honorius to the See of Canterbury.*

(Bede II. xviii.)

Amidst these events, Archbishop Justus was raised to the heavenly realms, on the 10th of November, and Honorius was elected to the bishopric in his stead. Honorius went for his ordination to Paulinus[1], and meeting him at Lincoln was consecrated by him the fifth prelate of the Church of Canterbury from Augustine. To him also Pope Honorius already mentioned sent a pall and a letter, in which he lays down the same thing which he had laid down in his epistle to King Edwin; namely, that when the Archbishop of Canterbury or of York should pass out of this life, the survivor, who shared the same rank, should be empowered to ordain another

Haec inter Iustus archiepiscopus ad caelestia regna subleuatus quarto Iduum Nouembrium die, et Honorius pro illo est in praesulatum electus; qui ordinandus uenit ad Paulinum, et occurrente sibi illo in Lindocolino, quintus ab Augustino Doruuernensis ecclesiae consecratus est antistes. Cui etiam praefatus papa Honorius misit pallium et litteras, in quibus decernit hoc ipsum, quod in epistula ad Aeduinum regem missa decreuerat; scilicet ut cum Doruuernensis uel Eburacensis antistes de hac uita transierit, is, qui superest, consors eiusdem gradus habeat potestatem alterum ordinandi in loco

[1] This had been the arrangement of St Gregory. But, as a matter of fact, Paulinus was the only bishop left in England except the Celtic bishops, Romanus of Rochester having been drowned; see the following chapter. Bishop Browne observes (*Conversion of the Heptarchy* p. 75) that it was not till six years after this that Paulinus received the pall from Rome. It only reached him after his abdication of York.

bishop in the place of the deceased; that it might not always be necessary to incur the fatigue of going so tedious a distance over land and sea to the city of Rome for the ordination of an archbishop.

XXVI. *Overthrow of the Northumbrian Church.*

(Bede II. xx.)

But when Edwin had reigned gloriously over English and Britons alike for seventeen years,—during six of which, as we have said, he was a soldier of the Kingdom of Christ,—Caedwalla, King of the Britons, rebelled against him, assisted by Penda, a very vigorous man of the royal family of Mercia, who from this date for twenty-two years reigned over that kingdom with varying fortunes. An important battle took place on a field called Hatfield[1]; and Edwin was killed, Oct. 12, in the

eius, qui transierat, sacerdotem; ne sit necesse ad Romanam usque ciuitatem per tam prolixa terrarum et maris spatia pro ordinando archiepiscopo semper fatigari.

At uero Aeduini cum X et VII annis genti Anglorum simul et Brettonum gloriossime praeesset, e quibus sex etiam ipse, ut diximus, Christi regno militauit, rebellauit aduersus eum Caedualla rex Brettonum, auxilium praebente illi Penda uiro strenuissimo de regio genere Merciorum, qui et ipse ex eo tempore gentis eiusdem regno annis XX et II^{bus} uaria sorte praefuit; et conserto graui proelio in campo, qui uocatur Haethfelth, occisus est Aeduini die IIII Iduum Octobrium,

[1] Hatfield Chase near Doncaster.

year of the Lord's Incarnation 633, when he was 48 years old; and his whole army was either killed or scattered.

At this time very great havoc was done upon the Church and people of Northumbria, especially because one of the leaders by whom it was wrought was a heathen, the other a savage more cruel than a heathen. For Penda, like all the people of Mercia, was devoted to idols, and ignorant even of the Christian name; but Caedwalla, though a Christian by name and profession, was yet such a savage in heart and life, that he spared neither womanhood nor innocent childhood, but with the ruthlessness of a wild beast gave all over to a death of torture, sweeping furiously over all their provinces for a long time together, and deliberately announcing that he meant to wipe out the whole English race from the coasts of Britain. Nor did he pay any respect to the Christian religion which had sprung up among them.

anno dominicae incarnationis DCXXXIII, cum esset annorum XL et VIII; eiusque totus uel interemtus uel dispersus est exercitus.

Quo tempore maxima est facta strages in ecclesia uel gente Nordanhymbrorum, maxime quod unus ex ducibus, a quibus acta est, paganus, alter, quia barbarus erat pagano saeuior. Siquidem Penda cum omni Merciorum gente idolis deditus, et Christiani erat nominis ignarus; at uero Caedualla, quamuis nomen et professionem haberet Christiani, adeo tamen erat animo ac moribus barbarus, ut ne sexui quidem muliebri, uel innocuae paruulorum parceret aetati, quin uniuersos atrocitate ferina morti per tormenta contraderet, multo tempore totas eorum prouincias debacchando peruagatus, ac totum genus Anglorum Brittaniae finibus erasurum se esse deliberans. Sed nec religioni Christianae, quae apud eos exorta erat, aliquid

Indeed to this day it is the manner of the Britons to ignore the faith and religion of the English, and to hold no more communion with them in anything than with the heathen. King Edwin's head was brought to York, and was afterwards brought into the church of the blessed Apostle Peter, which had been begun by himself and was completed by his successor Oswald, as we have said before, and laid in the aisle of Pope St Gregory, from whose disciples he had received the word of life.

Things in Northumbria being thrown into confusion at the moment of this disaster, when there seemed to be no protection anywhere except in flight, Paulinus took with him Queen Ethelberga, whom he had originally brought to that country, and returned by sea to Kent, where he was very honourably received by Archbishop Honorius and King Edbald[1]....He also took with him

inpendebat honoris. Quippe cum usque hodie moris sit Brettonum, fidem religionemque Anglorum pro nihil habere, neque in aliquo eis magis communicare quam paganis. Adlatum est autem caput Aeduini regis Eburacum, et inlatum postea in ecclesiam beati apostoli Petri, quam ipse coepit, sed successor eius Osuald perfecit, ut supra docuimus, positum est in porticu sancti papae Gregorii, a cuius ipse discipulis uerbum uitae susceperat.

Turbatis itaque rebus Nordanhymbrorum huius articulo cladis, cum nil alicubi praesidii nisi in fuga esse uideretur, Paulinus adsumta secum regina Aedilberge, quam pridem adduxerat, rediit Cantiam nauigio, atque ab Honorio archiepiscopo et rege Eadbaldo multum honorifice susceptus est.

[1] Here follow the names of other members of the family who fled likewise.

many precious vessels belonging to King Edwin,—among others a great golden cross, and a golden cup hallowed for the service of the altar, which are still preserved and shown in the Church of Kent.

At this time the Church of Rochester had no pastor, because Romanus, its bishop, having been sent on a mission to Pope Honorius by Archbishop Justus, had been drowned in the waves of the Italian sea. By this means, Paulinus undertook the charge of that Church, on the invitation of Honorius the Archbishop and of King Edbald, and held it until he also, when his time came, went up to the heavenly kingdom with the fruit of his glorious toil. At his death he left also in that Church the pall which he had received from the Pope of Rome.

But he had left in his own Church at York the deacon James, a churchman indeed and a saint; who for a long

Attulit quoque secum uasa pretiosa Aeduini regis perplura, in quibus et crucem magnam auream, et calicem aureum consecratum ad ministerium altaris, quae hactenus in ecclesia Cantiae conseruata monstrantur.

Quo in tempore Hrofensis ecclesia pastorem minime habebat, eo quod Romanus praesul illius ad Honorium papam a Iusto archiepiscopo legatarius missus absortus fuerat fluctibus Italici maris; ac per hoc curam illius praefatus Paulinus inuitatione Honorii antistitis et Eadbaldi regis suscepit ac tenuit, usque dum et ipse suo tempore ad caelestia regna cum gloriosi fructu laboris ascendit. In qua ecclesia moriens pallium quoque, quod a Romano papa acceperat, reliquit.

Reliquerat autem in ecclesia sua Eburaci Iacobum diaconum, uirum utique ecclesiasticum et sanctum, qui multo

time after remained in the Church, and plucked much prey from the old enemy by teaching and baptizing. The village near Catterick in which he chiefly lived is still to this day called by his name[1]. Being highly skilled in the art of singing in church, when peace was afterwards restored in the province, and the number of believers grew, he came to be the master of many in church singing after the manner of Rome and Canterbury; and 'being old and full of days,' as the Scriptures say, he followed the way of his fathers.

exhinc tempore in ecclesia manens, magnas antiquo hosti praedas docendo et baptizando eripuit; cuius nomine uicus, in quo maxime solebat habitare, iuxta Cataractam, usque hodie cognominatur. Qui, quoniam cantandi in ecclesia erat peritissimus, recuperata postmodum pace in prouincia, et crescente numero fidelium, etiam magister ecclesiasticae cantionis iuxta morem Romanorum siue Cantuariorum multis coepit existere; et ipse senex ac plenus dierum, iuxta scripturas, patrum uiam secutus est.

[1] According to Bishop Browne, the place is Akeburgh, or Aikbar, of which the first syllable represents *Iacobus* (*Conversion of the Heptarchy*, p. 218 f.). The 'Cross of Saint James' is still to be seen at Hawkswell, not far off (*ibid.* p. 215 f.).

XXVII. *Death of King Edbald and reign of Erconbert.*

(Bede III. viii.)

In the year of the Lord's Incarnation 640, Edbald, King of Kent, passed away from this life, and left the helm of the kingdom to his son Erconbert, which he held for twenty-four years and some months with great glory. Erconbert was the first of the kings of the English who commanded by his princely authority the idols to be forsaken and destroyed throughout all his kingdom, and at the same time that the forty days of Lent should be kept. And that these orders might not lightly be despised by any one, he laid down condign and sufficient penalties for offenders.

Anno dominicae incarnationis DCXL, Eadbald rex Cantuariorum transiens ex hac uita, Earconbercto filio regni gubernacula reliquit; quae ille suscepta XXIIII annis et aliquot mensibus nobilissime tenuit. Hic primus regum Anglorum in toto regno suo idola relinqui ac destrui, simul et ieiunium XL dierum obseruari principali auctoritate praecepit. Quae ne facile a quopiam posset contemni, in transgressores dignas et conpetentes punitiones proposuit.

XXVIII. *Death of Paulinus, and Consecration of the first English Bishop.*

(Bede III. xiv.)

In the second year of Oswy[1], that is the year 644 from the Incarnation of the Lord, the most reverend father Paulinus, formerly Bishop of York, but at that time Bishop of the city of Rochester, passed away to the Lord on the 10th of October. He had held the office of a bishop for nineteen years, two months, and twenty-one days, and was buried in the sacristy of the blessed Apostle Andrew, which had been built from its foundation in that city of Rochester by King Ethelbert. In the place of Paulinus, Archbishop Honorius ordained Ithamar, a Kentishman by birth, but not inferior to his predecessors in life and learning.

Cuius anno secundo, hoc est ab incarnatione dominica anno DCXLIIII, reuerentissimus pater Paulinus, quondam quidem Eburacensis, sed tunc Hrofensis episcopus ciuitatis, transiuit ad Dominum sexto Iduum Octobrium die; qui X et VIIII annos, menses duos, dies XXI episcopatum tenuit; sepultusque est in secretario beati apostoli Andreae, quod rex Aedilberct a fundamentis in eadem Hrofi ciuitate construxit. In cuius locum Honorius archiepiscopus ordinauit Ithamar, oriundum quidem de gente Cantuariorum, sed uita et eruditione antecessoribus suis aequandum.

[1] Brother and successor to Oswald, King of Northumbria. Like Oswald, he was attached to the Celtic usages.

XXIX. *The Conversion of East Anglia, and the history of the Church there.*

(Bede II. xv.)

(1) Such devotion to the true religion did Edwin[1] show that he also persuaded the King of the East English, Erpwald the son of Redwald, to leave idolatrous superstitions and adopt the faith and sacraments of Christ, he and his province. And indeed his father Redwald before him had the Christian sacraments applied to him in Kent, but to no purpose; for when he returned home, his wife and certain perverse teachers seduced him; and when he had fallen away from the sincerity of faith, his latter ways were worse than the former, so that, like the Samaritans of old, he served, as far as appearance goes, both Christ and his former gods, and had in the same temple an altar for the sacrifice of Christ and another little one[2] for the devil-victims.

Tantum autem deuotionis Aeduini erga cultum ueritatis habuit, ut etiam regi Orientalium Anglorum, Earpualdo filio Redualdi, persuaderet, relictis idolorum superstitionibus, fidem et sacramenta Christi cum sua prouincia suscipere. Et quidem pater eius Reduald iamdudum in Cantia sacramentis Christianae fidei inbutus est, sed frustra: nam rediens domum ab uxore sua et quibusdam peruersis doctoribus seductus est, atque a sinceritate fidei deprauatus habuit posteriora peiora prioribus; ita ut in morem antiquorum Samaritanorum et Christo seruire uideretur et diis, quibus antea seruiebat; atque in eodem fano et altare haberet ad sacrificium Christi, et arulam ad uictimas

[1] The King of Northumbria.

[2] Unfortunately in English we cannot translate the difference between the two entirely different words for 'altar.'

Aldwulf, the king of the same province in our own days, used to testify that this temple lasted till his time, and that he had himself seen it in his boyhood.

But Erpwald, not long after receiving the faith, was killed by a heathen named Richbert, and for three years the province laboured under error, until Erpwald's brother Sigbert came to the throne,—a man in everything most Christian and most learned, who during his brother's life had received the application of the sacraments while an exile in Gaul, and from the outset of his reign took steps to impart them to his whole province. In this design he was gloriously seconded by the Bishop Felix, who, on coming to Archbishop Honorius from the regions of Burgundy, where he had been born and ordained[1], and informing him of his desire, was sent by Honorius to preach the word of life to the

daemoniorum. Quod uidelicet fanum rex eiusdem prouinciae Alduulf, qui nostra aetate fuit, usque ad suum tempus perdurasse, et se in pueritia uidisse testabatur.

Uerum Eorpuald non multo, postquam fidem accepit, tempore occisus est a uiro gentili nomine Ricbercto ; et exinde tribus annis prouincia in errore uersata est, donec accepit regnum frater eiusdem Eorpualdi Sigberct, uir per omnia Christianissimus ac doctissimus, qui, uiuente adhuc fratre, cum exularet in Gallia, fidei sacramentis inbutus est, quorum participem, mox ubi regnare coepit, totam suam prouinciam facere curauit. Cuius studiis gloriosissime fauit Felix episcopus, qui de Burgundiorum partibus, ubi ortus et ordinatus est, cum uenisset ad Honorium archiepiscopum, eique indicasset desiderium suum, misit eum ad praedicandum uerbum uitae

[1] i.e. consecrated.

English tribe aforesaid. Nor were his vows fruitless; the pious husbandman of the spiritual field gained manifold fruit, in the form of believing multitudes amongst that tribe. The whole province, according to the significance of his name, was delivered by him from its long iniquity and infelicity, and brought to faith and the works of righteousness, and to the gifts of everlasting felicity. He received an episcopal see in the city of Dunwich; and after ruling as bishop over the province for seventeen years, he ended his life there in peace.

(Bede III. xviii.)

(2) In these days the East English kingdom, after Erpwald the successor of Redwald, was governed by Erpwald's brother Sigbert, a good and devout man; who formerly received the baptismal washing in Gaul, while in exile there, fleeing from the hatred of Redwald;

praefatae nationi Anglorum. Nec uota ipsius in cassum cecidere; quin potius fructum in ea multiplicem credentium populorum pius agri spiritalis cultor inuenit. Siquidem totam illam prouinciam, iuxta sui nominis sacramentum, a longa iniquitate atque infelicitate liberatam, ad fidem et opera iustitiae, ac perpetuae felicitatis dona perduxit, accepitque sedem episcopatus in ciuitate Domnoc; et cum X ac VII annos eidem prouinciae pontificali regimine praeesset, ibidem in pace uitam finiuit.

His temporibus regno Orientalium Anglorum, post Erpualdum Redualdi successorem, Sigberct frater eius praefuit, homo bonus ac religiosus; qui dudum in Gallia, dum inimicitias Redualdi fugiens exularet, lauacrum baptismi percepit, et

and by and by, on his return home, when he gained possession of the throne, desiring to imitate the good system which he had seen in Gaul, he founded a school for the instruction of children in literature. He was aided in this work by the Bishop, Felix, whom he had received from Kent, who supplied them with masters and teachers after the Kentish fashion.

XXX. *Death of Archbishop Honorius.*

(Bede III. xx.)

Upon the death of Felix Bishop of the East English, seventeen years after his accession to the bishopric, Honorius ordained in his stead his deacon Thomas, of the province of the Gyrwas[1]; and when Thomas after a five years episcopate was withdrawn from this life, he filled his place with a Kentishman, Bertgils, surnamed Boniface.

patriam reuersus, ubi regno potitus est, mox ea, quae in Galliis bene disposita uidit, imitari cupiens, instituit scolam, in qua pueri litteris erudirentur; iuuante se episcopo Felice, quem de Cantia acceperat, eisque pedagogos ac magistros iuxta morem Cantuariorum praebente.

Interea, defuncto Felice Orientalium Anglorum episcopo post X et VII annos accepti episcopatus, Honorius loco eius ordinauit Thomam diaconum eius de prouincia Gyruiorum; et hoc post quinque annos sui episcopatus de hac uita subtracto, Berctgilsum, cognomine Bonifatium, de prouincia

[1] That is, the inhabitants of the fen district.

And Honorius himself, after fulfilling his course, departed this light in the year of our Lord's Incarnation 653, on the last day of September[1]. The bishopric having been vacant for a year and a half, Deusdedit, of the nation of Wessex, was chosen sixth Archbishop of the throne of Canterbury, and Ithamar, Bishop of the Church of Rochester, came to Canterbury to ordain him. He was ordained March 26, and ruled the Church nine years, four months, and two days; and on the death of Ithamar, he consecrated in his room Damian[2], who sprang from the race of Sussex.

Cantuariorum, loco eius substituit. Et ipse quoque Honorius, postquam metas sui cursus inpleuit, ex hac luce migrauit anno ab incarnatione Domini DCLIII, pridie Kalendarum Octobrium; et cessante episcopatu per annum et sex menses, electus est archiepiscopus cathedrae Doruuernensis sextus Deusdedit de gente Occidentalium Saxonum; quem ordinaturus uenit illuc Ithamar, antistes ecclesiae Hrofensis. Ordinatus est autem die VII^mo^ Kalendarum Aprilium, et rexit ecclesiam annos VIIII, menses IIII et duos dies; et ipse, defuncto Ithamar, consecrauit pro eo Damianum, qui de genere Australium Saxonum erat oriundus.

[1] He had held the see for 22 or 23 years; and as he had been 'one of the disciples of the blessed Pope Gregory' (Bede v. 19), he must have been well on in years at the time of his death. The only member of the Roman mission who is known to have survived him was the patriarchal James the deacon. Honorius was 'a man of lofty erudition in things of the Church' (Bede, *l.c.*). It is pleasing to add that he was able to appreciate the saintly character of Aidan, although (so far as we know) there was no communion between them. Aidan, we are told, 'was deservedly loved by all, even by those who differed from him with regard to Easter; nor was he revered only by people of no position, but by the bishops themselves, Honorius of Kent and Felix of East Anglia' (Bede iii. 25).

[2] The date of Damian's death is uncertain; but when Theodore came

XXXI. *Death of Archbishop Deusdedit and extinction of the Augustinian succession.*

(Bede iv. i.)

(1) In the year of the eclipse already mentioned, and of the plague which followed close upon it[1], in which also Bishop Colman was defeated by the resolute unanimity of the Catholics[2] and returned to his own people, Deusdedit, the sixth Bishop of the Church of Canterbury, died on the 14th of July; and Erconbert, King of Kent, dying the same month and the same day, left to his son Egbert the throne which he had held for nine years. Then, the bishopric having been vacant for a considerable time, Egbert and Oswy, King of Northumbria, conjointly, as I briefly mentioned in the preceding book, sent to Rome the presbyter Wighard, a man of great learning

Anno memorato praefatae eclypsis et mox sequentis pestilentiae, quo et Colman episcopus unanima catholicorum intentione superatus ad suos reuersus est, Deusdedit VI^us^ ecclesiae Doruuernensis episcopus obiit pridie Iduum Iuliarum; sed et Erconberct rex Cantuariorum eodem mense ac die defunctus, Ecgbercto filio sedem regni reliquit, quam ille susceptam per VIIII annos tenuit. Tunc cessante non pauco tempore episcopatu, missus est Romam ab ipso simul et a rege Nordanhymbrorum Osuio, ut in praecedente libro paucis diximus, Uighard presbyter, uir in ecclesiasticis disciplinis

to Kent in 669, 'the bishopric [of Rochester] had long been vacant through the death of Damian' (Bede iv. 2). He probably survived Archbishop Deusdedit, or Deusdedit would probably have consecrated a successor to him.

[1] A.D. 664. [2] In the conference at Whitby.

in Church lore, of English origin, with the request that he might be ordained Archbishop of the English Church[1]. They sent at the same time presents to the Apostolic Pope, and gold and silver vessels not a few. When Wighard reached Rome, over which Apostolic See Vitalian at that time presided, he acquainted the Apostolic Pope with the reason of his journey; but not long after, both he and almost all the companions who had come with him, were overtaken by the plague and exterminated.

(Bede III. xxix.)

(2) In these days, the most noble English kings, Oswy of the province of Northumbria, and Egbert of Kent, took counsel together what was to be done for

doctissimus, de genere Anglorum, petentibus hunc ecclesiae Anglorum archiepiscopum ordinari; missis pariter apostolico papae donariis, et aureis atque argenteis uasis non paucis. Qui ubi Romam peruenit, cuius sedi apostolicae tempore illo Uitalianus praeerat, postquam itineris sui causam praefato papae apostolico patefecit, non multo post et ipse, et omnes pene qui cum eo aduenerant socii, pestilentia superueniente deleti sunt.

His temporibus reges Anglorum nobilissimi, Osuiu prouinciae Nordanhymbrorum, et Ecgberct Cantuariorum, habito inter se consilio, quid de statu ecclesiae Anglorum esset

[1] Even if Damian of Rochester died shortly after Deusdedit, as probably he did, Boniface of Dunwich was still alive, and might have followed the precedent set by Ithamar. But the two kings doubtless wished for a higher prestige for their new primate than could be conferred by such a consecration.

the Church of England;—for Oswy, though educated by the Scottish, had recognised that the Roman Church was the Catholic and Apostolic Church;—and with the choice and consent of the Holy Church of the English people they took a good man, well qualified for the episcopate, a presbyter of the name of Wighard, one of the clergy of Bishop Deusdedit, and sent him to Rome to be ordained bishop, in order that being admitted to the archbishopric he might be able to ordain Catholic prelates throughout Britain for the English Churches. But when Wighard came to Rome, before he could be consecrated to the episcopate, he was carried off by death....

Who, in effect, was found and dedicated as bishop instead of Wighard, will be better told in the following book[1].

agendum, intellexerat enim ueraciter Osuiu, quamuis educatus a Scottis, quia Romana esset catholica et apostolica ecclesia, adsumserunt cum electione et consensu sanctae ecclesiae gentis Anglorum, uirum bonum et aptum episcopatu, presbyterum nomine Uighardum, de clero Deusdedit episcopi, et hunc antistitem ordinandum Romam miserunt; quatinus accepto ipse gradu archiepiscopatus, catholicos per omnem Brittaniam ecclesiis Anglorum ordinare posset antistites.

Uerum Uighard Romam perueniens, priusquam consecrari in episcopatum posset, morte praereptus est.

Quis sane pro Uighardo reppertus ac dedicatus sit antistes, libro sequente opportunius dicetur.

[1] It was, of course, the great Theodore, under whom the Church of England entered upon a new period of her history.

VT DIES NATALITIVS BEATI PAPAE GREGORII ET DIES QVOQVE DEPOSITIONIS, QVI EST VII KALENDAS IVNII, SANCTI AVGVSTINI ARCHIEPISCOPI ATQVE CONFESSORIS, QVI GENTI ANGLORVM MISSVS A PRAEFATO PAPA ET PATRE NOSTRO GREGORIO SCIENTIAM FIDEI BAPTISMI SACRAMENTVM ET CAELESTIS PATRIAE NOTITIAM PRIMVS ADTVLIT, AB OMNIBVS SICVT DECET HONORIFICE VENERANTVR ITA VT VTERQVE DIES AB ECCLESIASTICIS ET MONASTERIALIBVS FERIATVS HABEATVR NOMENQVE EIVSDEM BEATI PATRIS ET DOCTORIS NOSTRI AVGVSTINI IN LAETANIAE DECANTATIONE POST SANCTI GREGORII VOCATIONEM SEMPER DICATVR.

Council of Clovesho A.D. 747.

To follow p. 160

ENGLAND
in 597.
Limit of the Supremacy of Ethelbert thus
Picts
Alcluyd
Bamborough
BERNICIA
CUMBRIA
Carlisle
DEIRA
York
Lindis-
waras
Deva
Gwynedd
MERCIA
Mid English
Northfolk
EAST
ANGLIA
Southfolk
Uriconium
Hwiccas
Bedford
Gloucester
WESSEX
ESSEX
Aust
[Augustine's Oak]
London
Deorham
Bath
Wimbledon
Rochester
KENT
Canterbury
I. of Thanet
Winchester
SUSSEX
Anderida
Iscani
Dumnonia

DISSERTATION I.

The Political Outlook of Europe in 597. By C. W. Oman, Esq., *Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford.*

When we look at history from the ecclesiastical point of view, we are able to recognise that the conversion of England really formed a logical part of a great process of events which was in progress all over Europe. Gregory the Great is the connecting link. We find the hand of the pontiff who sent forth Augustine working in every realm of Christendom. He is the strengthener and comforter of the pious Agilulf and Reccared, in the days of their recent conversion to orthodoxy. He is the familiar correspondent of Brunhildis in her vain struggle to keep together the crumbling royal power among the Franks. Nor is his name less closely connected with that of the Emperor Maurice,—though here he appears as the opposer and not the friend of a well-meaning sovereign. The half-unconscious attempts of the Roman see to free itself from the political supremacy of Constantinople are growing very visible. The rivalry, destined to last for so many centuries, between the patriarch of the West and the patriarch of the East, emerges very clearly in the strife of Gregory with John the Faster. The conversion of England takes its place in the

general history of Europe, when we consider it as one of the many developments of the energy of the great pontiff who, first among his line, made the influence of spiritual Rome extend almost as far as the influence of temporal Rome had reached in the splendid days of the Upper Empire.

But the year of the disembarcation of St Austin in Thanet, which forms such a prominent landmark in the history of our own island, has no special significance in the political annals of the Franks and Visigoths, the Lombards or the Emperors of the East. The times from 590 to 600 are in nearly all the other realms of Europe a period of pause and comparative quiet after the much more turbulent decade 580–590, and before the outbreak of the new storms which begin in the early years of the seventh century.

In the year 597 the outlook in most of the kingdoms of the Continent was not very cheerful. Alike in East and West the seventh century was the most miserable in the annals of the early Middle Ages.

Among the Franks there reigned in the year 597 three young boys, none of them much more than twelve years of age. They were the heirs of the hate of the two ruthless queens Fredegundis and Brunhildis, who had stirred up the long civil wars of 567–596. Clothar II., the son of Fredegundis and of her equally wicked husband Chilperich I., whom Gregory of Tours calls 'the Nero and Herod of his time,' reigned over Neustria, holding Paris, Tournay, Rouen, and all the lands west of the Meuse: he had but just reached the age of twelve. Till a few months before Augustine's coming to England he had been protected by his wicked mother's ready wit and unscrupulous cruelty: but Fredegundis had gone down to her grave early in 597, and the regency had passed to the great officers of the crown. Many years were yet to pass before Clothar had the chance of showing that he was the true son of his parents. Neustria had yet to bide her time for nearly twenty years before she could repay the

repeated invasions of the Austrasians. The tragic scene at Orbe in which the son of Fredegundis dealt so savagely with his kinsfolk of the elder line was not to come till 614.

Beyond the Meuse and the Saone meanwhile the two larger Frankish realms were under the nominal rule of two boys even younger than Clothar of Neustria. These were the two grandsons of Brunhildis, the brothers Theudebert of Austrasia and Theuderich of Burgundy: the elder was probably ten, the younger nine, when Augustine crossed Gaul on his way to England. They were still guarded by their grandmother. In her hands lay the last chance of the preservation of the royal authority in the land. Deprived first of her husband and then of her son, Brunhildis was striving hard to keep up the strength of the central government against unruly provincial magnates and ambitious ministers. She had a hard task: a stranger in the land, and not even supported by strong kinsmen beyond the frontier (for her father Athanagild the Visigoth and all his house had long passed away), she had nothing but her own energy and resolution to rely upon. She was hated as a Goth, as the stirrer up of many bloody and unsuccessful wars, as the slayer of many unruly nobles who had risen against the crown in the days of her son's and her grandsons' minority. In 597 she was still vigorous and alert, travelling restlessly around the borders of the realm, spying out rebels to crush, building roads and castles, keeping a wary eye upon every count and bishop.

Brunhildis in 597 was just on the eve of crushing one more of the constantly recurrent conspiracies of the Austrasian nobles. She had yet two more years to rule, ere the rebels, successful at last, chased her alone at midwinter over the Burgundian border, there to nurse her wrath for thirteen years, and finally in her old age to urge on her grandsons to one last ruinous civil war. The fatal year 612 was still far away, and no one could have foreseen that of the two young brother kings to whom Gregory wrote on behalf of Augustine, one was

to doom the other to death, and then fall himself within a few months, stricken down by a sudden disease, in which all men saw the hand of the Providence that avenges fratricide. Still less could it have been guessed that the strong-handed politic queen would survive to extreme old age, only to fall at last into the power of the son of her rival Fredegundis, and to meet a horrible death at his hands.

Under the wicked house of Chlodovech nothing could prosper. Till it was gone there was no hope of peace or union for the Frankish realm. Early in the sixth century men had sometimes dreamed of a revived Western empire united under the sceptre of a Frankish monarch. The dream had now long passed away, and it was clear that from the Merovings nothing was to be expected but fratricide and tyranny. Gaul was rapidly losing the traces of its old Roman civilization, which had survived so strongly under the first kings of the dynasty. Gregory of Tours and Venantius Fortunatus found no successors of their own pattern in the seventh century: literature appeared to be on the verge of dying out altogether in Gaul: after 600 it is only represented by a few jejune chronicles and lives of saints. To see that the same was the case in art, we have only to compare the neat and well-finished gold *solidi* of Theudebert I. with the barbarous and almost illegible coins of Dagobert I. and his successors. The old Roman buildings were falling into decay, the roads were vanishing—no one but Brunhildis seems to have cared for them—: communications between province and province were growing slower and more difficult. So far from uniting the West, the Merovings seemed bent on dividing it: in 600 it seemed that the empire of Chlodovech and Chlothar I. would be permanently divided into the three realms of Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy. Even the outer boundaries of the Frankish realm were beginning to shrink: the Saxons and Frisians were encroaching: the Bavarians and Alamanni, who had seemed so thoroughly subdued in the first

half of the sixth century, were drifting back towards independence ere the seventh was far spent.

The church in Gaul presents as melancholy a picture as the state. The old bishops of Gallo-Roman blood had often been very unsatisfactory shepherds of their people, but matters had grown much worse since Franks had begun to enter Holy Orders in large numbers and to reach high ecclesiastical preferment. The letters of Pope Gregory show that the Gallic church was honeycombed with simony. By the influence of the crown, or the great ministers of the crown, persons over-young, or of notoriously evil life, or mere laymen hurriedly ordained, were being thrust into bishoprics and abbacies. Even the better among the great churchmen of the day were statesmen or warriors rather than saints. On the morals of the governors and the governed alike Christianity seems to have had little appreciable effect. No race of heathen kings can show a worse record than the Catholic and Orthodox but wholly treacherous, lecherous and fratricidal house of the Merovings. With such rulers in church and state we are not surprised to find that nothing was being done from Gaul to christianize the neighbouring races of Teutonic blood. The Saxons and Frisians were destined to spend nearly two centuries more in heathenism. But they were the enemies of the Franks, and missionary effort directed towards them would have been difficult. It is stranger that nothing had been done for the English, who seem to have been on friendly terms with the Merovings. English ambassadors, Kentish men, no doubt, had accompanied the envoys of the Frankish kings to the court of Justinian. A Frankish princess had been given in marriage to the king of Kent. A regular trade was beginning to spring up across the Dover Straits. But no king or bishop had done anything to bring Christianity nearer to the English. We have no indication that even Bertha's chaplain-bishop Liudhard, when he actually came to reside in Kent, had preached the Gospel outside his mistress's household. What

little missionary work we can detect in the West was the work of the Irish saints, who well before the close of the sixth century had begun to cross to the Continent and explore its inmost recesses.

The outlook of Spain in 597 was far brighter than that of the Gaulish lands, though her later fate was to be far worse. Down to the reign of king Leovigild (568–586) the Iberian peninsula had been vexed by two evils. The first was that the rulers and the ruled were divided by a bitter theological hatred: the conquering Visigoths were Arians, the Spanish provincials orthodox Catholics. The second arose from the fact that since the extinction of the old royal house of the Amals in 531 the sceptre had passed rapidly through the hands of a succession of military adventurers. Civil war had grown endemic, and was complicated by the fact that the independent Suevi of Galicia and Lusitania were always descending from their hills to seek profit in the troublous times, while the troops of Justinian had seized on the Andalusian harbour-towns and were vigorously striving to push inland and conquer the valley of the Guadalquivir.

It appeared however in the end of the century that both the curses of Spain were to be removed. A great warrior-statesman had arisen, in the person of king Leovigild, who had beaten down all opposition in the peninsula and passed the crown quietly on to his equally capable son Reccared. He had utterly crushed the Suevi and annexed their kingdom (583): he had driven the East-Romans back to the coast, where they now held but a precarious hold on a broken line of harbour-fortresses: he had beaten off with loss the last serious attempt of the Franks to establish themselves south of the Pyrenees (585–6). Yet Leovigild had been an Arian, and his treatment of his unruly son Hermenegild, who suffered death as much for his conversion to the orthodox creed as for his very unjustifiable rebellion, was the great blot on an otherwise glorious reign.

Leovigild's son Reccared, however, had shown shortly after his accession that he was about to cast off the heresy of his ancestors. In 587 he conformed to the Catholic faith, and persuaded the majority of his nobles and bishops to follow his example. When his former coreligionists rose in rebellion they were sternly repressed by the sword (589). The conversion of Reccared promised the highest good fortune to Spain; it took away the great barrier between the Visigoth and the Roman, which had hitherto rendered any true loyalty to the crown impossible: the two nations soon began to coalesce and melt into a single people. It is of no small interest to note that Reccared first of all the kings of Spain was able to trust his armies to Roman generals, and to count on the enthusiastic support of the Roman bishops. His throne was strong, and the perpetuity of his royal line seemed secured by the existence of an heir to the throne, his son Leova, who in 597 was a pious and promising lad of sixteen. Reccared was now in robust middle age, swaying the Iberian peninsula with a firm hand and exacting such obedience as none of his predecessors had ever been able to command. Of all the kingdoms of Western Europe that of the Visigoths gave the best promise of a glorious future in the last years of the sixth century.

Four years later this bright prospect was to be suddenly clouded over. Reccared died in 601, long ere he had run the appointed course of man's age: two years later his virtuous son was murdered by a conspirator, Count Witterich, the last of the Arians. The house of Leovigild was suddenly extinguished, and with it the hope of prosperity for Spain. Thirteen short-lived kings, most of them military usurpers of the lowest class, were to dispute the Visigothic crown in the wretched seventh century. Spain sank back into the anarchy from which the sword of Leovigild had rescued it for a time, and the peace and good government which his dynasty had secured for the land for nearly forty years (568–603) was never to be restored by any of his successors. The only change in Visigothic

politics which can be noted after 603 is that for the future the bishops play a part as important as that of the secular counts and dukes in the wretched faction-fights which tore the land asunder. This made the church less reputable than it had been in the days when it was contemned and oppressed by Arian masters: it cannot be said to have profited the state, for bodies of churchmen were more than once prominent as the suborners of rebellion and civil war. By the end of the seventh century the Visigoths were drifting into a condition as miserable and as wanting in all promise of amendment as was that of their neighbours the Franks. Anyone who studies the annals of their wretched kings can easily understand why their realm fell with such shameful ease before the sword of the conquering Moslems of the East.

In Italy the position of politics in 597 was far more complicated than that in Spain. Thirty years before, the Lombards, a wild tribe of Teutonic horsemen, half heathen and half Arian in creed, had poured down from the Julian Alps into the desolate realm which Justinian had just won back from the Ostrogoths. The two young kings, Alboin and Authari, had for a time swept all before them, and it had appeared probable that a new German race would promptly replace the extinct nation of the Goths, and extend their borders from the Alps to the Straits of Messina. But the Lombards had, like the old English, a fatal tendency towards disruption. Their numerous war-dukes paid but a perfunctory obedience to the king who dwelt at Pavia, and each band spread itself at large on some district of the peninsula which seemed worth seizing. There was no common action among them: some drifted south, some west, at their good pleasure, and the kings were seldom able to force them to combine for a common enterprise. Leaving the marsh, the mountains, and the desolate Roman Campagna unsubdued, the Lombard dukes had contented themselves with the possession of the fertile plains of the Po and the Arno and the more attractive of the valleys of the Apennines. The conquest

had been carried out with as little system, union, or foresight as the English descent on Britain. For ten years (573–583) there was no king in the land, and each duke ruled his own district as an independent sovereign. It was only after they had brought upon themselves a dangerous war with the Franks by their reckless invasion of Provence, that the Lombards found it necessary to choose themselves another king. Their new ruler Authari averted this danger, but he did not succeed in establishing a strong monarchy: he was little more than the first among the thirty dukes of the peninsula. When he died in the flower of his age and left no issue the Lombards elected in his stead his cousin Agilulf, duke of Turin. A curious legend related by Paul the deacon, the national historian of the race, tells us that the 'Wise men' had formed such a high opinion of the wisdom and virtue of Theodelinda, the widow of Authari, that they consulted her on the choice of a new king. She recommended to them duke Agilulf, and gave him not only the crown but her own hand (590).

Theodelinda had been reared as a Catholic, being the daughter of Garibald, duke of Bavaria, a vassal of the Frankish crown. She persuaded her second husband to swerve from the policy of his predecessors and put an end to the official patronage of Arianism. Authari had clung strongly to his heresy, and forbidden any of his Lombard subjects to receive baptism according to the orthodox rite. Agilulf proclaimed toleration, and so far passed over to the Catholic side that he allowed his son Adaloald to be baptized by an adherent of the creed of Nicaea. The rise of Agilulf to power was followed by the conclusion of the first peace between the Lombards and the Eastern Emperor. Ever since Alboin first came down from the Julian Alps there had been unending war between the invaders and the representatives of the imperial power in Italy. For twenty-seven years, as Pope Gregory complains in one of his letters, Rome had lived in terror under the shadow of the Lombard sword.

This treaty, mainly due to the remonstrances of Gregory with the pious queen, and to her influence over her husband, was from the political point of view a huge mistake on Agilulf's part. The Lombards were still slowly advancing and capturing one by one the remaining imperial fortresses. They should never have halted till they had carried their kingdom up to its natural boundaries. The treaty of 599 perpetuated the anomaly by which isolated patches of Roman territory in the marsh, the mountains, or the shore, were interspersed among the duchies of the conquerors. But the king, though a skilled warrior, was evidently a great lover of peace. When a few years later the foolish exarch Gallicinus broke the treaty by kidnapping Agilulf's daughter and carrying her off to his fastness of Ravenna, Agilulf consented to renew the agreement after tearing away from the empire two more great towns—Padua and Mantua. He should have pushed on, and made an end of the exarchate when the opportunity was in his hands, for in 603–5 the wretched Phocas was emperor at Constantinople, and, oppressed with his Persian war, could send no succours to his lieutenant in Italy. But Agilulf allowed himself to be easily propitiated, and the imperial fortresses remained to serve as thorns in the side of the Lombard monarchy, and to prevent that unification of Italy which was now to be deferred for more than twelve hundred years. That Rome, Venice, Ravenna[1] and Naples were never incorporated with the Lombard realm was mainly due to the personal regard which Agilulf and Theodelinda bore to the Roman pontiff. Remote as the cause may appear, it was undoubtedly the source of half the political and religious complications of the Middle Ages. The 'Papal Peace' (as it has been happily called) of 599 was the origin of the temporal sovereignty of the

[1] One hardly need count the few years 727–9 and 752–4 when Ravenna was in the hands of Liutprand and Aistulf: practically it was never incorporated with their realm.

Bishops of Rome in the 'Ducatus Romanus,'—though that sovereignty was but just commencing and did not take definite shape till the eighth century. It is almost impossible to conceive what the history of the later ages would have been had Agilulf pressed the siege of the city in 593: Rome would have become a provincial town of the Lombard realm, or at the best its capital, supposing that the king had been moved to transfer his seat thither from Pavia on account of the ancient glories of the 'mistress of the world.' Instead of persisting, however, Agilulf retired after an interview with the pontiff, and devoted himself instead to warring against places more immediately dependent on the exarch at Ravenna. The Lombard monarch sealed thereby the ultimate ruin of his own people: but whether his action contained the seeds of more good or evil it is difficult to decide. One conclusion only is certain: the personal influence of Gregory was the thing which made the difference at this all-important turning-point of the history of the Papacy, Italy, and Christian Europe.

The English student viewing the crisis finds himself touched by two main emotions when he considers its relation to our own history. The first is admiration for Gregory, who only three years after the siege of Rome, and three years before the conclusion of the peace of 599, could turn his mind from the still-lingering war in Italy to take active measures for the conversion of the distant English. In 596 the Lombards were still ravaging Tuscany and Umbria, though they had turned back from Rome itself. Augustine must have passed through towns and fields still black with their burnings when he set his face towards Gaul and the Straits of Dover. It is not inappositely that Gregory's conduct has been compared to that of the Roman Senate of eight hundred years before, who sent out legions to Spain and Africa though Hannibal was encamped at their very gates. With half-heathen, half-Arian hordes vexing his soul by their inroads on Campania and Lucania, Gregory could yet look far afield, and remember the aspiration of his

own earlier years for the conversion of the subjects of Aella, and the people of Deira who must be taken 'de ira dei.'

Our second reflection is that the turning back of Agilulf was probably a main cause of the mission of Augustine. If Rome had fallen in 593 and Gregory three years later had been the subject of a Lombard master, would he have had the leisure or the heart to bethink himself of the distant heathen beyond the seas? Knowing the greatness of the man we may think that it might still have been possible; though a Lombard garrison within the walls and a Lombard duke seated in the palace of the Palatine, would have given him many new domestic troubles. One thing is certain: it may have been for England's gain, but it was certainly for Italy's loss that Gregory's soft words turned back Agilulf's wrath, and settled the fact that neither then nor for twelve hundred years to come should Rome be the capital of a united Italian kingdom.

But whatever may have been the ultimate results of the events of 593, there can be no doubt that Gregory's influence on Agilulf and his wife was for the immediate advantage of the Lombard race. The king's reign (590—615) was a time of growing prosperity and civilization for the whole nation. By the end of it they were beginning to root themselves firmly into their new home, and from mere destroyers and ravagers were becoming a settled community, building where hitherto they had been wont to burn. The first monuments of the Lombards date back to Agilulf: the sacristy of the basilica which he and his wife built in honour of St John the Baptist at Monza, hard by Milan, still contains many curious relics of the pious pair. The crown which he dedicated, and which Paul the Deacon noted two hundred years after, is gone. But there still survives his large pectoral cross and a quantity of Theodelinda's gifts, the most notable of which is the extraordinary life-sized hen and chickens in silver, the quaintest and most primitive creatures that early art could produce. There is no similar treasure of the seventh century extant anywhere,

save the Gothic crown-jewels of the treasure of Guerazzar now preserved in the Cluny Museum at Paris.

While a new kingdom was making in Italy, and while the first symptoms of Papal independence were beginning to appear, the empire whose capital lay at Constantinople was at the end and not at the beginning of a period. The East Roman state was in a condition of lassitude and over-exhaustion caused by the reckless energy and extravagance of Justinian. The great emperor had left his realm almost drained dry of resources, and his three successors paid dearly for the glories of the first half of the sixth century. In 597 the estimable Maurice was drawing near the end of his reign. A hard-working, conscientious monarch, who had been a successful soldier in earlier life, he had done his best to keep his realm together and to allow its exhausted provinces leisure to recover. In 591 he had brought to a successful close the long Persian war which had been for nineteen years draining the resources of the East. A fortunate change of sovereigns in Persia had enabled him to make a creditable peace, by which he won back not only the lost Roman fortresses of the frontier, but a new province, the district of Persarmenia.

Financial exhaustion was the main disease of the state, and Maurice was now endeavouring to economize in all directions. But before he was quit of one great war another was growing up. From the year 585 onward the Slavonic tribes were beginning to make their way across the Danube and to establish hostile settlements within the bounds of the empire. At the same time the Tartar horde of the Avars were pushing destructive raids from their home in Hungary across the Balkans as far as Thrace and Macedon. Slav and Avar alike had drifted into the Danube lands, when the last German tribes moved westward or were destroyed. Where the Teutonic Lombards, Gepidae, Goths, and Heruli had once dwelt along the imperial frontier, these new and alien races had come in to occupy the void. The Avars, like their predecessors the Huns and their

successors the Magyars, came but as plunderers; they pushed their raids far afield, but they always returned to their tents and their cattle, spread over the plains of the central Danube and the Theiss.

The Slavs were a different and a more dangerous kind of enemy: they came to settle and not merely to ravage. The northern provinces of the Balkan peninsula were in such a state of desolation and weakness that they invited such colonists. Constant wars with the Goth and Avar had killed off the population of the open country, and the ancient Moesia showed little more than a line of fortress towns strung along the Danube. Even great towns like Sirmium, Singidunum, Naissus and Sophia were now little more than garrisons: the old Latin-speaking provincials had been well-nigh exterminated. The Slavs, mere bands of fishers and hunters in the lowest grade of civilization, were constantly slipping in between the fortresses and planting themselves down in marsh, mountain and woodland pastures from which it was very hard to dislodge them. Individually the Slavonic tribes were not very formidable enemies to the empire: but their numbers made them difficult to deal with. Band after band was cut off by the Roman troops, yet more and more continued to drift south and obtain a lodgement in the Balkans. It was impossible to make any peace with them, for they acknowledged no central authority: some were vassals of the Chagan of the Avars, but many more were independent. Each group fought for its own hand, and the extermination of one did not turn back the rest. By 597 they were firmly established in many of the Moesian regions, though the fight was still going on, and though the imperial troops preserved their ascendency in the open field, and sometimes even crossed the Danube to pursue the Slavs into their native plains.

The Slavonic war was an open sore slowly eating away at the flank of the empire: it was far more deadly than the occasional spasms of Avar invasion, though the numberless

hordes of horse-bowmen of the Tartar tribe seemed at the moment more formidable than the lurking bands of Slavs ensconced in their mountains and morasses. Both were a bitter trial to Maurice, who had recognised that peace and economy were the great needs of the exhausted empire, and found that he could never obtain the one or enforce the other. He was so conscious that the crushing taxation instituted by Justinian was the real source of the troubles of his realm, that even in the midst of wars he tried to save money at the most inappropriate times and by the most unhappy means. The reputation for parsimony which he earned is in one way the greatest testimony to his wisdom and clearsightedness. But it won him great unpopularity, and was ultimately destined to prove his ruin. The two events which caused his fall were both the results of misplaced economy. In 599 the Avars had carried off 12,000 prisoners, and demanded for them an exorbitant ransom: Maurice hung back and haggled, till the Chagan in a fit of rage ordered the whole body of unfortunate captives to be put to death. This disaster was never forgiven, and for the last three years of his reign Maurice was always styled a miser and a murderer. His death was brought about by a military sedition, which burst out when he insisted on cantoning the army of the Danube in the bleak plains of Wallachia, instead of bringing them home to comfortable quarters in the cities of Moesia. Economy and the desire to save supplies was again the source of this unpopular action: this time it brought about his death, for the mutineers marched on Constantinople and there slew their sovereign. No one raised a hand to defend him, though when he was gone and the brutal Phocas sat upon his throne, men soon began to remember his many virtues, and to reflect that his wish to spare the treasury had been the result of a regard for the tax payer and not of personal avarice.

In 597 Maurice had not yet reached the full depth of his unpopularity, and as a successful military revolt culminating in the deposition of an emperor had been unknown at

Constantinople for many years, it would have been hard to guess that there was to be ere long a recrudescence of the evil customs of the third century. The dispassionate observer however would have been forced to note a growing weakness in the emperor and the empire. An advanced stage had been reached in a period of rapid decay, from which there was to be no revival till the distant days of the Isaurian Leo. The worst feature of the time was not so much the depopulation of the Balkan provinces by the Slav and Avar, as the exhaustion of the Asiatic provinces, though they had been ravaged by no foreign foe, owing to the reckless maladministration which Justinian had authorised and which his successors had continued. No invasion of the Persian or any other hostile power had seriously touched Asia Minor, Southern Syria, or Egypt; yet in each of these regions the subjects of the empire were declining in numbers and in wealth: the towns were shrinking or even falling into utter decay: commerce was languishing: public spirit was dead. In Syria and Egypt the bitter theological wrangles of the Nestorians and other heretical sects with the orthodox were the only sign of life that remained. Things were already drifting towards that fatal apathy which some thirty years later allowed those fertile lands to fall into the hand of the Saracens, mainly because the larger part of their population had ceased to feel any loyalty or attachment to the imperial government. The frontier towards the East had still been firmly held in Maurice's reign, and, as long as the Mesopotamian fortresses survived, the internal weakness of the Asiatic provinces was not suspected. It was only when Maurice was dead and Phocas had supplanted him, that the extent of the decay of the inland regions became evident. But when in 606 Daras and the other frontier garrisons fell before the assault of the Persian Chosroes, the weakness of the empire became suddenly apparent. With hardly a check the barbarians swept on to the gates of Alexandria and Constantinople, and for more than a decade the Oriental and

Egyptian 'dioceses' became Persian satrapies. It was a prelude to the more permanent conquest which was to be carried out by the Moslems in 634—40. Indeed, but for the heroism of one man, the gallant and unfortunate emperor Heraclius, the Persians and not the Romans would probably have been holding Syria and Asia Minor when the moment came for the fanatical Arabs to sally forth from their deserts.

The mischief was wrought in the East long before Maurice or Heraclius laid hands on the helm of the state. It was Justinian and his system which had exhausted the vital strength of the empire, and at any moment after 550 the same disasters which befell in 606—620 and 634—640 might have occurred. Chance delayed them for two generations, and so it came to pass that in 597 the empire, though very hollow within, still kept its ancient shape and size. The fall in the public revenue, the decay of commerce, the diminishing numbers of the army, were symptoms that acute observers had noted long before: the historian Agathias, an intelligent contemporary, lays strong stress upon them. But the collapse was long delayed, and when Gregory sent Augustine forth, the Caesar at Constantinople was still swaying a realm hardly smaller than that which Justinian had left behind him. Only in Italy had there been any serious loss, and even there the Lombards had stopped short, without accomplishing their full task, so that ambitious exarchs occasionally dreamed of taking the offensive and winning back the conquests of Belisarius and Narses. A few years later the stately structure was to crumble into ruins—but the end was not yet.

Of all the provinces of the Roman empire which passed from under the hands of the Caesars in the fifth century none made such a gallant fight against the invading Teuton as the distant land of Britain. Spain yielded almost without a stricken blow to the Visigoth: Italy passed from the last Augustus to the first German king by a mere military mutiny, in which the distressed civil population took no part: in Gaul

there was a genuine resistance to the invader in some districts, but it died down in a few years, and by 486 the last Roman governor had been slain by king Chlodovech the Frank, and all the land was divided between the Frank, the Visigoth and the Burgundian. But in Britain the half Romanised provincials, though first of all the subjects of the empire to lose the protection of the imperial name and the aid of the legions, maintained a desperate fight against the pirates of the North Sea for nearly two hundred years. The descents of the Saxons and the English on the eastern shore of the island had begun in the fourth century: it was not till the seventh had begun that the struggle was finally settled. Only in 613 did the English hew their way to the Irish Sea and break asunder the line of British towns and tribes which stretched down the long island. Nor was it till 635 that the last British prince who claimed to be king and overlord of the whole land fell before the sword of the Northumbrian hero Oswald. Then only did the Britons acknowledge that the primacy had gone from them and had passed into the hands of the conquering Teuton.

The obstinate valour of the defenders of Britain, and the comparative weakness of the scattered English tribes as compared to the armies of Alaric or Theodoric or Alboin, made the conquest of the island wholly different in kind from that of the other provinces of the West. On the Continent it was the rule that some great Teutonic chief, with a host numbered by tens of thousands, swept across the land, while the provincials bowed before him and bought their lives by their submission. There the conquest was rapid: it was attended by great misery and bloodshed, but it was not a war of extermination. Moreover most of the invaders were already Christians—though generally they had embraced the Arian heresy—before they entered the empire. The Franks were a momentary exception—but their king Chlodovech was baptized less than ten years after he became the lord of Paris and Rouen and Rheims (496).

The English, Jutes, and Saxons who invaded Britain were unlike the founders of the new continental states in that they came from the very back of Germany, and had not, like the Frank or the Goth, dwelt for centuries along the Roman frontier, or learnt from the Roman the rudiments of a new civilization and of a new religion. They came to Britain as wild heathen, and they met there not a pliant people eager to save themselves by a prompt submission, but restless, buoyant, turbulent Celts, singularly unchanged by four centuries spent beneath the Roman dominion. In the early years of the struggle for Britain the battle was to the death: the Cymry gave back slowly and reluctantly, and the invaders were only able to carve out for themselves small and isolated kingdoms at various points on the eastern and southern seaboard. No great Teutonic realm was established, as in Gaul, Spain, Italy, or Africa, but only a long string of coast-states, reaching from the Firth of Forth to Southampton Water.

In the sixth century the conquest advanced with many checks and halts: each of the English kingdoms fought its own local enemy; they gave each other no appreciable aid. But the Britons were almost equally disjointed in their resistance. It was very seldom that the chief king of the island could unite his nominal vassals to beat back the invader. The memory of these obscure wars has almost perished. We know a little of the warfare of the kings of the house of Ida and Ossa with the Britons of Bryneich and Strathclyde, and of the kings of Wessex with the dwellers by the Thames and Severn: but of the details of the conquest of the Northern Midlands or of Yorkshire not a word survives. This only is clear, that in the third quarter of the sixth century the fortune of war had taken a decided turn in favour of the Teutons. The great landmarks of the period are two victories of the West Saxons, Cuthwulf's conquest of Bedford (571), and Ceawlin's successful invasion of the Severn valley in 577, which ended in the battle of Deorham and gave the victors Gloucester and Bath.

These victories changed the character of the English conquest of Britain, by cutting off the smaller states of the south-east, Kent, Essex, Sussex, and East Anglia, from any further chance of expansion at the expense of the Cymry. For the future only Wessex and Northumbria, together with the as yet disunited tribes along the Trent, had any elbow-room for further development. We stand at the beginning of a new epoch, in which the English instead of confining their warlike efforts to rending new territory from the Britons, turn upon each other and strive for supremacy among themselves. There was no longer any danger that they might be thrust back into the North Sea by some desperate rally of the old inhabitants of the land: the conquest had gone too far to allow of such a contingency being any longer possible.

The civil wars of the English began in 568 with a sharp struggle between Ceawlin of Wessex and the young king Ethelbert of Kent for the right to hold Surrey. The Kentishmen were beaten at the battle of Wimbledon, and thus finally cut off from any chance of extending their borders to the west. The men of Wessex went on to further conquests, and within ten years had forced their way, as we have seen, north and west as far as Bedford and Gloucester.

Debarred from further expansion at the expense of the Britons, Ethelbert turned his energies in a new direction. First among the English kings he set himself to building up a little empire over the neighbouring states of his own kinsfolk. The details of his wars are preserved by no chronicler, but we know from Bede that within some twenty years after his defeat at Wimbledon he had subjected to himself all the English kingdoms from the Channel to the Humber—the East and South Saxons, the East Angles, and also the Lindiswaras and Mercians of the valley of the Trent. The kings of Wessex, intent on further conquests from the Britons, left him unmolested: and after 583 their power to harm him ceased, for their realm fell into disorder and civil war and failed to

preserve the predominance which seemed to have been won for it by the victories of Bedford and Deorham. North of the Humber another powerful state was just in the process of making: in 588 king Ethelric had united the small kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia into the single realm of Northumbria. But he was far away, and both he and his successor Ethelfrith were much cumbered by wars with the Britons. From that quarter there was no rivalry, and Ethelbert was now the most important king of the island, and the first of the English who could fairly claim to hold the primacy in Britain.

He was far advanced in middle age, and had been for several years well established in his position of supremacy, when the mission of St Augustine began. Hence we may say that the year 597 marks an epoch in the political no less than in the religious history of England. The struggle for existence against the Britons was over, the tendency towards union among the English kingdoms was clearly beginning to develop, when the new factor of Christianity came into the history of the land.

Since the Saxons and English won their footing on the eastern coast of Britain, the history of the island had been singularly independent of its continental neighbours. Within a century and a half from the departure of the legions Britain seemed to be swallowed up in the darkness of the North. Its existence was barely remembered at Rome and Constantinople. The great Byzantine historian Procopius, writing somewhere about the year 560, tells wild legends about it. No human being, he was informed, could live in the land of perpetual mist and darkness beyond the old Roman wall, and the fishermen of the Frankish coast described 'Brittia' as a land of ghosts, whither the spirits of the departed were ferried at night by unseen pilots. The writers of Gaul were not, of course, haunted by such wild imaginings as this. They knew that there were small Teutonic kingdoms beyond the Channel, but they seem to have taken little heed of them. Gregory of

Tours in his lengthy history of the sixth century only mentions the English once or twice. He vaguely knew that Bertha the daughter of the Frankish king of Paris had married an Englishman, but even the name of Ethelbert seems to have been unknown to him: the bridegroom of Charibert's daughter is only described as 'the son of a certain prince in the parts of Kent.' Of political touch between the Franks and the English we have only one casual indication, a passing mention that certain ambassadors from beyond the Channel (as has been said above) accompanied a Frankish embassy to Constantinople towards the end of Justinian's reign. Whether they came as allies of the Merovings, or whether Kent had perchance for a time owned in some way the overlordship of its nearest continental neighbour, there is nothing to show. The latter hypothesis is the more unlikely of the two, as we cannot imagine that such a state of things would have been left wholly unmentioned by the Frankish chroniclers. No close or frequent relations between them seem ever to have sprung up before the introduction of Christianity into England.

Behind heathen England lay the Christian tribes of Britain and Ireland. But, as is well known, we have no traces whatever of any attempt of the Britons to evangelize their Teutonic enemies. We do not find them, nor should we expect to do so, in the lugubrious pages of Gildas. To that Celtic Jeremiah the idea that anything could or should be done for the Saxon would have been unthinkable. The Irish, even before Columba's day, had sent missions to Northern Britain, but it was to the Pict and Scot, not to the Angle. We have a few notices of occasions on which the British and Irish Churches came into contact with the Church of Gaul, but none in which they made any attempt to reach the English. In the scanty Celtic ecclesiastical documents of the sixth century which have come down to us, the only mention of the Teutonic inhabitants of the island occurs in the curious passage of the Synod of Lucus Victoriæ (A.D. 569), which imposes heavy

penance on any Christian who shall act as a guide to the 'barbarians,' or otherwise abet them[1]. We have traces in the Chronicles of such relations between Cymry and Englishmen, but they led to no close or permanent contact. On the rare occasions where heathen Englishmen and Christian Britons are found in company, they had been forced together for a moment by the opportunity of assailing some common enemy. The instant that their object was achieved they sprang apart into their former enmity. There could be no real peace, much less any real alliance, between them till the barrier of Paganism was removed.

[1] Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Eccl. Documents*, i. p. 118.

DISSERTATION II.

The Mission of Augustine and his Companions in relation to other Agencies in the Conversion of England. By the Editor.

It is well that those who keep the year 1897 as the thirteenth centenary of the founding of the English Church should recognise clearly what other movements of evangelization blended with the work set on foot by St Gregory, and to what extent our ecclesiastical existence is due to other agencies besides the mission of St Augustine.

Every person of ordinary information is aware that Christianity had taken possession of the island long before 597, though by what means it was introduced remains uncertain. British Christianity, however, had been swept westwards by the Saxon and Angle and Jute invaders, into Cumberland and Wales and Cornwall, and the neighbouring regions; and, as Bede in many places records, the British Christians were too full of anger and contempt towards their heathen conquerors to send the message of the Gospel among them. It is indeed probable that a very considerable Celtic, and therefore Christian, element remained as slaves or serfs in the provinces overrun by the Teutonic tribes; it is even said that a British bishop maintained his position at London till the middle of the sixth

century[1]; nevertheless the Christianity which first held Britain—the Christianity of St David and St Dubric, who were alive when Augustine came—had no appreciable influence in the founding of the English Church. Even when pressed to join in the work by Augustine, and by Lawrence after him, the British Christians positively refused. Two British bishops, it is true, joined with Wini of Wessex in the consecration of St Chad[2]; which shows that about the middle of the seventh century the relations between the two races and the two Churches were at least locally improving. But Chad's consecration was disallowed by Theodore[3]; and a long time had yet to elapse before even the Cornish Church became organically united with the English, and much longer still before the same thing took place in Wales. While, therefore, the Church in the Celtic parts of Southern Britain is much older than Augustine's time, it did not contribute, so far as history is aware, to the foundation of that which is, properly speaking, the English Church.

Another Celtic movement was destined to have far more effect upon England. It was that which sprang from Ireland, —or Scotia, as it was then called,—through the wonderful devotion of the monks of Hy, or Iona. It has been pointed out that St Columba's death took place exactly one week after that Whitsunday on which tradition fixes the baptism of King Ethelbert[4]. Possibly some disciples of that great missionary, or perhaps Columba and his brethren on their way to Burgundy, may have preached already in parts of England, and kindled at least a desire among the English for a better acquaintance with the Gospel. We have, at any rate, the testimony of St Gregory, in two of his letters, that 'the English nation,' before the coming of Augustine, was already earnestly desirous of conversion to the Christian faith[5]. How much the

[1] See Bishop Browne *The Church in these Islands before Augustine* p. 92.

[2] Bede iii. 28.

[3] Bede iv. 2.

[4] Reeves' *Adamnan* p. 310.

[5] See above, pp. 31, 34.

expression means, we do not know. Gregory does not say how the information reached him, nor from what part of our island it emanated. His ignorance of our geographical and historical conditions was profound. It seems, however, that Gregory's sanguine hopes that his mission would be well received in Britain had at first much animated the missionaries themselves. When they got as far as Gaul, 'the tongues of evil speaking men,' as Gregory says, alarmed them, and made them feel that their prospects were not at all what Gregory had been led to believe[1]. The Gaulish bishops, whom Gregory's geography considered to be all 'in the vicinity' of Britain, from Arles onwards, had greatly failed, in Gregory's opinion, to do their duty by their heathen neighbours[2]. He treated the Gaulish accounts of England as mere slanders; though what he heard from Augustine, on his return from the half way halt, made him take pains to provide the missionaries then, as he had not done before, with any number of letters of commendation to potentates and prelates who might by any possibility be on their way to Britain[3].

It might have been supposed that the English desire for Christianity, to which Gregory refers, had arisen amongst the people of Kent, where Christianity already had a foothold. Bede tells us that Ethelbert had 'heard of Christianity' before Augustine's arrival. He had long—probably for nearly forty

[1] See above, p. 22. This seems the simplest way of accounting for the sudden faintheartedness, as well as for Gregory's remark on the *maledicorum hominum linguae*.

[2] *E uicino*, *in uicino*, pp. 32, 34. The same geographical conception seems to underlie Gregory's directions with regard to Augustine's sitting in judgment with the Bishop of Arles, pp. 66, 80.

[3] It was no doubt ignorance about the routes which made Gregory send such a curious assortment of letters. The travellers could not pass *both* through Saintes and Tours *and* through Autun and Metz. The fact that they *did* travel by way of Autun, if nothing else, makes it very improbable that they visited Angers, as Gocelin amidst much other nonsense makes them to do.

years[1]—been married to a Christian wife, who had brought in her retinue a French bishop, who constantly maintained the Christian worship in St Martin's Church. Bede does not say, though he implies, that Bertha and her bishop Liudhard had prepossessed the king in favour of the faith. It is much to Bertha's credit that she had not prejudiced him against it. She came of a wicked family; and if she had taken after her aunts (by marriage) Brunichild and Fredegund, the circumspect Ethelbert would probably have been less ready than he was to listen to Augustine. Nevertheless, Bede's own expression indicates that little, if any, attempt had been made to convert the king himself to Christianity. Gregory, so strangely complaisant in his language to royal personages, even when they were not very good, thought fit to give Queen Bertha a downright rebuke. It had been 'her duty this long time past,' he tells her, to have predisposed her husband to adopt her religion. It ought to have been quite easy for her to do it speedily. She must now make up for past neglect, and do so with interest[2]. Clearly no application for Christian instruction had come to Rome from Ethelbert; for on the one hand, if he had wished for instruction, he had no need to go to such a distance to obtain it; and on the other hand, when it came, he showed a wise caution about receiving it.

It has been questioned whether there is any historical truth in the famous account of Gregory's interview with the English boys at Rome. Bede, it will be observed, carefully mentions that it was an *opinio*, that is, a report. He does not give it on his own authority. The still earlier Life of Gregory by the

[1] The date of the marriage is unknown; but the language of Gregory of Tours ix. 26 (*quam in Cantia regis cuiusdam filius matrimonio copulauit*) appears to show that it took place before Ethelbert's accession to the throne, which was in or about 560 (see Plummer's *Bede* ii. p. 85). Hauck, I know not on what grounds, says that they were married 'shortly before 590' (*Realencyclopädie* vol. i. p. 520).

[2] See above, pp. 58, 59.

anonymous monk of Whitby calls it a *narratio fidelium*,—a popular tradition among the faithful. It seems not to have formed part of the Canterbury history, learned by Bede from Albinus. It was very probably current amongst the people of Deira, whom it chiefly concerned. Perhaps it was first related to them by Paulinus, or by the faithful deacon James. Bede's version of it, however, differs sufficiently from that of the monk of Whitby to make it appear that he had an acquaintance with the story apart from him; and it is possible that when Thorn, at Canterbury, makes the boys to be three in number, he may have had something besides his Bede to go upon. There seems to be no sufficient reason for doubting the substantial truth of the incident, or for making it a picturesque version of Gregory's directions to Candidus for the purchase of English youths[1]. The argument has been advanced that if the story had been true, the mission would have been directed to Northern and not to Southern England. But this argument presupposes a much closer acquaintance on Gregory's part with the state of this island than the facts would warrant. Augustine was not sent to any special tribe or region of England. He bore no letters to Ethelbert or Bertha, any more than to the house of the Deiran Aelli. To Gregory, 'the English nation[2]' was all one; and Augustine came first to Kent, partly because it was nearest, and partly, no doubt, because he learned at Paris, if he did not know before, that he would find in Kent a Christian queen. There is nothing in the history of his mission inconsistent with the beautiful story of the way in which Gregory's interest in the English race was first aroused. Tidings of a readiness on the part of the English to receive the Christian religion may well have led Gregory to think that the moment had come for realising a long cherished design.

[1] As is done by Bassenge *Die Sendung Augustins* (Leipzig, 1890) p. 17, and by Hauck *loc. cit.*

[2] *Anglorum gens*, p. 31, and *passim*.

It must have been about the beginning of June 596, or a little earlier, that the monks of Gregory's convent left Rome upon their great adventure. Gregory's letter sent to them in South Gaul by the hand of Augustine after his return to Rome bears date July 23 of that year. It was not till the year after —the month and day are unknown—that the missionaries arrived in Thanet. So Bede expressly says in his Recapitulation, though he does not mention the fact in his History itself. The journey through Gaul was long and tedious, and they probably waited somewhere on purpose to get the worst of the winter over before crossing.

Ethelbert's reception of them was most generous. They were a large party to maintain,—about forty in all, including the French priests who came to interpret—but he maintained them at his own cost, and gave them complete liberty of action from the first, even before he had made up his mind to accept their teaching. Nor was it long before their good words, powerfully set forth by their holy lives, brought the king to his baptism.

Bassenge has lately attempted to prove that Ethelbert's baptism did not take place until the year 601 or even 602[1]. He thinks that the two letters from Gregory to Bertha and her husband, which were sent with the second mission in 601, indicate that Ethelbert was not at that time formally admitted to the Church; and the fact that Gregory, writing to Eulogius of Alexandria in July 598 about the success of the mission, does not specially mention the baptism of the king, seems to Bassenge a proof that he was not yet baptized. There was no need, however, to mention Ethelbert in the very brief sketch which Gregory gives to his brother patriarch; in which, indeed, he does not even mention the name of the 'monk of his own monastery' whom he had sent to Britain; and from which, if we had had nothing else to guide us, we should have supposed

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 31 foll.

that Augustine had been consecrated bishop on his way to this country. Highly as Gregory valued rank, he thought more of the ten thousand souls who had been baptized at Christmas than of their king who had set them the example. Nor is there anything in the letters to Ethelbert and Bertha to show that Ethelbert was unbaptized when they were written. On the contrary, if Bertha is exhorted to 'confirm' her husband's attachment to the faith, it is most natural to suppose that he had already professed publicly his adhesion to it. There would have been a much more direct appeal to her to procure her husband's conversion, if he had been still unconverted: the object to which Bertha is to direct all her efforts, through Ethelbert and otherwise, is the entire conversion of her husband's subjects. The same is the case with the letter to the king. He has himself received 'grace' from God. His duty is now earnestly to keep it, and to press forward with the uprooting of heathenism and the spread of the Christian faith. There is no exhortation to him to become a Christian himself. The whole letter is unintelligible, if Bassenge's theory is correct. Bassenge is, no doubt, right when he says that Bede intends us to understand that Augustine's consecration took place before the conclusion of the events narrated in the chapter before that which records his consecration[1]; but it is not necessary to believe that it took place before Ethelbert's baptism. All the requirements of Bede's language would be met, if we were to place the consecration before the great influx of converts who followed the king,—which would agree with Gregory's letter to Eulogius—or before the endowment of the newly consecrated Archbishop with 'a place of settlement' in the city of Canterbury and with the other possessions to which Bede refers. Gregory's letter to Eulogius shows that Augustine's consecration took place in time for him to return to Kent by Christmas, 597—Thorn says it was on Nov. 16—;

[1] Bede, i. 26, 27: *Interea uir Domini*, etc.

and as, according to Bede's statement, his consecration was to be contingent upon his reception by the English[1], it is altogether likely that Ethelbert's baptism was to Augustine the sign of the fulfilment of the condition, and that that baptism had taken place, as the Canterbury tradition affirmed, at the feast of Pentecost, which in the year 597 was June 2.

Of St Augustine's activities after his consecration little is known. Except on the occasion of his conference, or conferences, with the British bishops in the west, we do not hear on any good authority of his going beyond the borders of Kent, or indeed outside of Canterbury, though he may well have done so without our knowing of it. The account which Thorn gives of his peregrinations, modestly made on foot, may have some historical truth in it; but it looks like a reminiscence of Bede's descriptions of Aidan and Chad. Gocelin's story of great baptizings in the Swale seems to be taken from what Bede says about Paulinus[2]. But Augustine's work in Kent was solid. That kingdom was soon almost wholly Christian; and Augustine had been able before his death, apparently in 604, not only to consecrate his successor Lawrence—a somewhat irregular proceeding,—but also to plant bishops, Justus and Mellitus, in the towns of Rochester and London, with churches and endowments of their own, and good prospects before them. It was a fine result of seven years' work; and if Gregory, who died a couple of months before the probable date of Augustine's death, had received recent intelligence from England, he might well be satisfied with what under God he had accomplished[3]. Rochester, indeed, was within Ethelbert's own immediate kingdom; and London was not only near at hand, but its king was in special relations with Ethelbert. The work was not widespread; but nevertheless the Church of England was well founded before Augustine died.

[1] See above, p. 21. [2] Cp. the letter to Eulogius, p. 45.

[3] For the date of Gregory's accession and of his death, see the *Regesta Pontif. Rom.* (Jaffé-Ewald 1885) vol. i. pp. 143, 219.

The youthful Church, however, had great difficulties to go through. For about eleven years, under Lawrence and his two brother bishops, matters seem to have gone on quietly, if but little progress was made. But in 616, first Ethelbert died, and then his nephew Sabert, King of the East Saxons. Their successors were heathens. Mellitus from London, and Justus from Rochester, fled to their metropolitan, leaving, perhaps, presbyters behind them, but themselves unable to endure the storm to which they were exposed. It was agreed that the work in those cities should be abandoned for a time, and the two bishops took refuge in Gaul. Even Lawrence, according to Bede, was preparing to do the same, when matters (whether for the reason which Bede assigns or not) took a more favourable turn. Edbald, the King of Kent, became a Christian; and Canterbury was not evacuated. Rochester received its bishop again; but nearly forty years were yet to elapse before London consented to do the like.

On the death of Lawrence, the expelled and infirm Bishop of London, Mellitus, succeeded him at Canterbury; and after he had held the see for five uneventful years, he was in turn succeeded by Justus from Rochester,—Romanus being consecrated to the see which Justus vacated. It was during the primacy of Justus that the English Church made its first great advance since the days of its original founder. Edbald of Kent, the son of Ethelbert and Bertha, had become a sound and consistent Christian; and when the mighty Edwin of Northumbria, the son of Gregory's Aelli, sought his sister in marriage, Edbald's consent was only given on an understanding similar to that on which his mother had been sent to England,—namely that Ethelberga should have the free exercise of her religion, and should be accompanied by any necessary ministers of the same. Upon this, Paulinus was consecrated bishop by Justus, to accompany Ethelberga, as Liudhard had accompanied Bertha. This was in 625,—twenty-one years or so after Augustine's death.

The story of Paulinus' mission in the north is told by Bede with greater fulness of knowledge than that which marks his account of the work in Kent; and it is a touching and impressive story. Paulinus had been one of the second batch of Italian missionaries, sent by Gregory in 601, on the return of Lawrence and Peter. So marked and vigorous a personality must have been doing good work somewhere during those three or four and twenty years; but the record of it is lost. One fact alone has been thought to throw light upon this part of his career. Edwin, in youth, had been an exile at the court of Redwald, King of the East Angles. There, one night, while sadly reflecting upon the dangers of his situation—for a large bribe had been offered to Redwald for his murder—he saw a stranger, who laid his hand upon his head, and undertook to deliver him from his distress, if Edwin, on his part, would promise to follow this stranger's advice, when he should again lay his hand upon his head. When Edwin had become a powerful king, and the husband of a Christian queen, and was anxiously debating with himself whether to become a Christian himself or not, Paulinus, it is said, approached him with the mysterious sign, and laying his hand upon Edwin's head, demanded the fulfilment of his promise[1]. It has been not unnaturally surmised that Paulinus was himself the stranger who had spoken to him at the court of Redwald; and if so, we have an indication, not in itself improbable, of a missionary enterprise on the part of that earnest saint, of which no other knowledge is preserved. It must be owned, however, that Bede had no suspicion of any meeting between Edwin and Paulinus before Paulinus accompanied Ethelberga to Northumbria. He supposed that Paulinus had received a supernatural intimation of the sign which had been given to Edwin.

Paulinus' work in the great kingdom which stretched from

[1] Bede ii. 12. The story is told at such length that I thought it advisable not to translate it in its place among the texts.

Edinburgh into Lincolnshire was brilliant and effective. Not settling himself down, as the Kentish prelates did, at his cathedral see of York, he travelled about the country, often in company with the king, in every direction. Vast numbers were baptized. The look of his venerable figure and countenance smote itself into the recollections of those who saw him, never to be forgotten. Every relic connected with him was treasured with a peculiar veneration. If there be any truth in a well-known statement of the British Nennius, Paulinus even succeeded in winning to him members of the hostile race and Church of the Britons, to help him in his baptizings[1]. Stately basilicas of stone arose in the chief centres of his ministry. Northumbria was all on fire with Christian enthusiasm. The long, almost stagnant, quiescence of the Gregorian mission burst into six years of noble energy, at once tender and strong.

Then came the great disaster. Edwin was killed. The Christian Briton and the heathen King of Mercia made common cause, and devastated the Northumbrian kingdom. It is difficult to blame the great missionary for what he did. He had originally gone to the north as chaplain to Queen Ethelberga. He now conveyed her back, by sea, to her Kentish home; where she took the veil, and he accepted the vacant see of Rochester. Others of his clergy, at any rate the heroic James, stayed at their posts amid burning towns and wild butcheries. But they were probably less exposed to danger than the friend and minister of Edwin. If the work of Paulinus came to an end, it was not through Paulinus' fault; it was through the extirpation of the Northumbrians, whom he had evangelized, by the sword of Penda. But in fact the work of Paulinus was not in vain. Other men entered into his

[1] Nennius § 63: 'If any one wishes to know who baptized them, Rum the son of Urbgen baptized them.' See Plummer's note on Bede ii. 14, and Browne *Conversion of the Heptarchy* p. 220 foll.

labours. After about two years, Aidan, the most attractive of the early saints of England, and his brethren from Iona and from Melrose, re-established Christianity, in its Irish form, holding no direct communion with Canterbury, nor with Rome the mother of Canterbury, although the Canterbury prelates learned to revere their dissident colleagues. Once more the north caught the Christian fire, from the opposite quarter to that from which Paulinus came. But if it had not been for the remembrance of Paulinus, the fire would not have caught so quickly or spread so wide. The paganism which Paulinus found there had not recovered strength to resist Aidan. Even in the region of which Aidan was most directly the Apostle, Aidan built largely upon another man's foundation. The Gregorian mission must be credited with giving an abiding impetus to the christianization of Northumbria.

There was another part of the island in the conversion of which some share must be assigned to Canterbury, but not so large a share as may be claimed for it in the north. Redwald, the King of the East English, at whose court Edwin took refuge in his early days, had visited Kent at some time in Edbald's reign, and there received the Christian sacraments, though he thought it possible to retain his heathen worship side by side with his new Christianity. His son Erpwald, about the year 627, was persuaded by King Edwin to embrace the Christianity which Edwin had himself recently embraced. Erpwald was murdered too soon after his conversion to do much for the evangelization of his subjects. Then came three years of error, until the accession of Erpwald's brother Sigbert, who became the nursing father of the Church in his kingdom. Sigbert had received the faith in Gaul; and the bishop who aided him in his great work came likewise from that country. His name was Felix. He was a native of Burgundy, and had been advanced to the episcopate in his own land. But he had become interested in that missionary enterprise towards which the Gaulish bishops in general were so unsympathetic. He

went to Canterbury and offered himself to Honorius, who had succeeded Justus in that see. Honorius sent him to East Anglia, and there for seventeen years he laboured with most satisfactory success. Nor was the interest of Sigbert and of Felix confined to the actual evangelization of the East English. Sigbert had seen, when in exile in Gaul, the good schools which existed there; and he determined that the children of his own subjects should have the like opportunities of education in literature. Felix likewise had been struck with the methods adopted in the schools of Canterbury, and procured for Sigbert's institution masters who applied those methods. To these elements of Kentish and Gallican Christianity was added in East Anglia the Irish element, direct from Ireland. St Fursey, the seer, presented himself to Sigbert, and was honourably welcomed. He established himself, with other monks, in Burgh Castle, near Yarmouth; then moved into a hermit's cell; then, after some time, troubles which fell upon the province joined with the Irish love of travel, and Fursey passed away into Gaul[1]. The foundation of the Church in East Anglia is thus not wholly due to the Canterbury establishment; but it is so to a great extent. Felix appears to have considered himself distinctly suffragan to Honorius; and when Felix died, in 647, Honorius appointed and consecrated in his place the Englishman Thomas, who had been deacon under Felix, and after the five years' episcopate of Thomas, another Englishman, named Bertgils, and surnamed Boniface.

Besides Northumbria and East Anglia, it would be difficult to prove that the Gregorian mission in Kent directly contributed to the evangelization of any other part of England. The first kingdom, besides those already named, to receive the Gospel was the kingdom of Wessex. Its Apostle was Birinus. We do not know to what country he belonged by birth; but about the year 633 or 634 he came to the Pope, Honorius I., and 'with

[1] Bede iii. 19.

his advice[1],' Bede says, started for Britain. It is not easy to see why Honorius did not send him straight to his namesake at Canterbury. It was certainly an infringement of the privileges bestowed by Gregory to sanction any independent mission to the island: but Pope Honorius at least exacted from Birinus a promise, made 'in his presence,' that he would go to 'a part far inland, where no teacher had been before him.' The Pope refrained from consecrating Birinus himself;—not even Augustine had been consecrated by the Pope in person;—but he directed Asterius, Bishop of Milan, who was living at Genoa, to consecrate him bishop, and Birinus, apparently quite alone, went on his way northwards. The first English tribe to which he came, the Gewisses of Wessex, proved to be such virgin soil for Christian endeavour, that Birinus thought his promise sufficiently fulfilled, and penetrated no further. He succeeded in converting Cynegils the king; and when he was christened, St Oswald, King of Northumbria, the pupil of the Irish teachers at Iona, acted as his godfather, and joined with him in assigning to Birinus a see at Dorchester near Oxford.

The Wessex mission which began in such deliberate independence of Canterbury continued for a good while to be independent. The son of Cynegils, Cenwal, as was so frequently the case, began his reign by refusing Christianity, and then learned in exile to embrace it, from Anna, the brother and successor of Sigbert in East Anglia. Birinus died soon after Cenwal's return; but Cenwal, instead of applying to East Anglia for a new bishop, or to Canterbury from whence the East Anglians received theirs, took up with a bishop who chanced to come to him from a very different direction. This was Agilbert, a French bishop, who had been studying for some time in Ireland, and who proposed to King Cenwal to minister in his kingdom. Destitute as Agilbert was of any canonical mission to that part of the world, Bede does

[1] Bede iii. 7: *cum consilio papae Honorii.*

not hesitate to say that he governed the Church there for many years 'by episcopal right (*sacerdotali iure*).' This 'right' was at length invaded by the king, who, tired of Agilbert's foreign tongue, 'brought in privily' (Bede says) another bishop, who spoke English, named Wini, who, like Agilbert, had been consecrated in Gaul. Cenwal divided the diocese between the two; which so incensed Agilbert, that after a short stay in Northumbria he withdrew to Gaul, and was shortly after made Bishop of Paris. The English Wini did not long remain in possession of his part of the diocese. He was ejected by the arbitrary Cenwal; and Wulfheri, King of Mercia, being by that time a Christian, and master of the city of London, Wini repaired to him, and paid him a sum of money for the vacant see of London, which he held until his death. For a good many years after this, there was no bishop at all in Wessex, until Cenwal began to get into trouble, and bethought him of better ways. He wrote to Agilbert and asked him to come back. Agilbert refused, but said that he had a nephew in priest's orders, called Leutherius or Lothair, who would do very well, whom he sent to Cenwal. Cenwal received him with honour; and Theodore being by that time Archbishop of Canterbury, Cenwal requested him to consecrate Leutherius, which he did, and Wessex passed for the first time under the authority of Canterbury.

The great central kingdom of Mercia received its Christianity from the Scottish or Irish Church of Northumbria[1]. A marriage in this case, as in so many others, was the occasion of its introduction. Penda, the fierce old heathen king who had devastated Northumbria and killed Edwin, had a well-disposed son named Peada, whom his father promoted to be King, under him, of the Middle Angles. Peada went to Northumbria to ask in marriage the daughter of Oswy, and niece of Oswald, and was told that he might have her on

[1] See, for Mercia, Bede iii. 21, 24; iv. 3.

condition of becoming a Christian. Peada listened to Christian teaching, and then declared that, wife or no wife, he would be baptized. He was accordingly baptized by Finan, the successor of St Aidan, with all his servants and companions, and returned to his kingdom provided with four presbyters, of whom Cedd was the most celebrated, to teach and christen his people. The aged Penda made no objection, and the work throve both among the Middle Angles and in Mercia proper. After Penda's death, in battle against the Northumbrians, Mercia passed under the sovereignty of Oswy; who caused Finan to consecrate the Irishman Diuma, one of Peada's four presbyters, to be Bishop of the Middle Angles and of the Mercians together. Diuma was succeeded by his countryman Ceollach, and Ceollach by Trumhere, an Englishman by birth, but of Irish education and consecration. Trumhere again was succeeded by Jaruman, whose early history is unknown, but who was evidently from the same quarter as his predecessors. Not till after the death of Jaruman did Mercia come into direct relations with Canterbury. Then King Wulfheri applied to Theodore for a bishop, and Theodore arranged with Oswy that Chad should be translated from Northumbria to rule the Church of Mercia.

London had expelled its bishop, Mellitus, in 616 or the following year. Since then, Essex had had no Christian establishment, although, if the story is true that St Erkenwald as a child had heard Mellitus preaching in London[1], the effects of the Gregorian mission had not been completely obliterated even there. But in or about the year 653, Sigbert—not the saintly East Anglian already mentioned, but an East Saxon king of the house of Sabert—was baptized, perhaps along with Peada of Mercia, certainly at the same place,—Ad Murum, on the great Roman Wall, by the same hands,—those of

[1] Dugdale *History of St Paul's* p. 289. I owe the reference to Dr Bright's *Chapters of Early English History*.

Finan, and under the same influence,—that of the Northumbrian Oswy[1]. Sigbert, like Peada, wished to have Christian teachers sent to him, and naturally turned to the Church of his baptism for aid, although he might perhaps have obtained what he required from his East Anglian neighbours. Oswy saw nothing better to be done than to move Cedd from Mercia, where he can hardly have begun his work, to Essex, where he soon covered the ground by vigorous itinerating such as his northern teachers used, and succeeded in planting presbyters in many stations. Returning on one occasion to Lindisfarne, to confer with Finan, to whom he seems to have looked as a kind of metropolitan, he was consecrated Bishop of the East Saxons; but soon after the conference at Whitby in 664, on another of his northern visits, he was tempted by the offer of a suitable place for a monastery, at Lastingham, and resigned his bishopric, leaving behind him the memory of indefatigable work and of an awful holiness. It is interesting to observe that, while still Bishop of the East Saxons, Cedd christened the successor of his King Sigbert, Swidhelm, at the court of the King of the East Angles, who stood godfather. There is no sign that Boniface (or Bertgils), the bishop of that territory, protested against the intrusion of his Scottish neighbours. After Cedd's abdication, there was again a partial apostasy of the East Saxons, who had been left without a bishop; but they were soon brought back by the Scottish bishop Jaruman from Mercia, whom King Wulfheri sent to them for the purpose. The chronology of the kingdom of Essex is by no means clear, and the relation of London to that kingdom varied, but, whether before or after the mission of Jaruman, the simoniacal Wini, as has been said already, was set up as Bishop of London, and remained there until his death, not fully recognised by Theodore, but not ejected. At last, by the consecration of St Erkenwald at the hands of Theodore,

[1] For Essex see Bede iii. 22, 30.

the regular succession of Bishops of London (and Essex) began, in subjection to the see of Canterbury.

Sussex was the last of the English kingdoms to become Christian, and its conversion did not take place till twelve years after the arrival of Theodore in England[1]. It is true that Ethelwald, the king, had been baptized—'a little while before,' says Bede, but it must have been at least eight years—in Mercia. He had married a Christian wife; and he was urged to take the step by the powerful Wulfheri, who stood godfather to him and gave him as a christening present the Isle of Wight and a good piece of what is now Hampshire. But the king seems to have taken no pains for the conversion of his subjects, such as other kings took; and the people were but little impressed by the preaching and holy life of a small Irish community which had settled among them at Bosham. One man, indeed, from Sussex is known to us as having become a Christian to good purpose: it was Damian, who was made Bishop of Rochester in 653[2]. But the South Saxons, as a whole, were, as Bede says, 'ignorant of the name of God, and of the faith,' until an apostle came among them in 681, in the person of the exiled Wilfrid. Wilfrid, however, was scarcely a representative of the Christianity introduced by Augustine, although he had studied for a brief space at Canterbury under Honorius. Originally trained by the Scottish evangelists of his northern home, he had vehemently espoused the opposite side to theirs in the Paschal controversy, had paid a long visit to Rome, and a longer one to Lyons, and as a presbyter on his return, was the champion of the victorious Roman cause at the conference of Whitby. When he was nominated immediately after by Alchfrid the son of Oswy to be bishop over his subjects, the see of Canterbury was vacant. There were four bishops in England; but of these, two were of Scottish consecration, which Wilfrid had come to

[1] See Bede iv. 13, foll. [2] Bede iii. 20.

think invalid; one was the simoniacal Wini; and the fourth, Boniface of Dunwich, though unobjectionable, did not satisfy the young Wilfrid. Accordingly Alchfrid sent him over to Gaul, to his friend Agilbert of Paris, by whom he had been ordained priest before Agilbert left England; and Agilbert, with eleven other prelates, consecrated Wilfrid bishop at Compiègne[1]. It was but a small share, therefore, that the Gregorian mission could claim in the conversion of Sussex.

Judged from one point of view, the Gregorian mission had come actually to an end several years before that event. The Augustinian line of bishops died out. Gregory's sanguine vision of two metropolitans with twelve suffragans apiece was very far from being ever realised. Eleven bishops in all owed their consecration directly or indirectly to Augustine. The first six of these were Italians, who either came with Augustine, or joined him in 601,—Lawrence, Mellitus, Justus, Romanus, Paulinus, and Honorius. The other five were Englishmen,—Deusdedit, Ithamar, Damian, Thomas and Boniface, occupying the sees of Canterbury, Rochester, and Dunwich. Boniface of Dunwich was the last. He died in the year that Theodore reached England. In him that succession became extinct. No sacred orders now existing are traced up to Augustine. If the episcopal succession is the framework of the structure of the Church, the structure of the present Church of England begins with Theodore of Tarsus[2].

Only a small part of England, it will have been seen, directly owes its Christianity to the missionaries sent by Gregory. Canterbury was the one and only centre in which the work begun by them had an uninterrupted and continuous history. Even at Rochester, within the kingdom of Kent itself, there was a short break. London, so far as any visible

[1] For Wilfrid's early history see Bede iii. 25, 28; v. 19.

[2] See the Table of Succession in Browne *Conversion of the Heptarchy* p. 91.

result was concerned, wholly repudiated their operations. Their magnificent successes in Northumbria were to a great extent swept away. East Anglia alone, outside of Kent, retained ecclesiastical connexion with them from the time of its first acceptance of the Gospel; but, so far as we can see, they would hardly have evangelized East Anglia but for their timely reinforcement by the arrival of a Burgundian bishop. The first christianization of the great kingdom of Wessex was accomplished without the least reference to the chair of Augustine,—indeed almost in defiance of it. The main work of christianizing Northern and Central England, and even of Essex and (in a more remote degree) of Sussex, was done by the spiritual descendants of St Columba who looked upon Canterbury and Rome as committed to a false form of Christianity. Aidan acted upon Oswald and Oswy; Oswald and Oswy acted upon England at large. They restored Christianity in their own Northumbria. They helped in the foundation of the Church in Wessex. They founded the Church of Mercia. They refounded the Church of Essex. The founder of the Church of Sussex, though he abjured their ways, was reared in their chief sanctuary of Lindisfarne. Unquestionably Aidan and his disciples had a much larger share in the original conversion of England than Augustine and his disciples.

Nevertheless the history of the Church of England begins with Augustine and centres round his see of Canterbury. Probably much more was effected by the Church of Canterbury during the first seventy years than is evident upon the face of the records. Its influence must have been felt even where its claims were not recognised. People passed through Canterbury on their way to and from the Continent. Princes of the other English kingdoms, like Redwald, visited the Kentish court, and carried away with them more or less of its Christianity. As Ethelberga had taken Christianity into the heathen realm of Northumbria, so her daughter Eanfled took the Kentish form of it back to Northumbria when she went to be married

to Aidan's disciple Oswy, attended by her Kentish presbyter, Romanus[1]. Bede enables us to see how there not only remained in the Northumbrian Church, through all its Scottish period, relics of the mission of Paulinus, like James the Deacon, but how Christians from Kent kept coming into the north, and Christians from the north went to learn in those schools of Canterbury which were the model schools of England. These influences gradually prevailed; and when, after the conference of Whitby, King Oswy gave his adhesion to the 'Catholic' Easter, the cause was won. Instead of the disorganised collection of tribal Churches, neither owning any central authority, nor federated on any system of coequality, unity and order gathered round the see of Canterbury. When Deusdedit, the first English archbishop, died, in the year of the Whitby conference, a vacancy of three years ensued. At the end of that time Egbert of Kent and Oswy of Northumbria consulted together, and 'with the choice and consent of the Holy Church of the English Nation' determined to send Wighard to Rome to be consecrated archbishop by the Pope[2]. It is a signal proof of the way in which the throne of Augustine was already felt to be the common interest, the uniting centre, of the separated English kingdoms, and of the hitherto separated English Churches. Wighard died before he could be consecrated; but Pope Vitalian sent in his place the great second founder of the English Church, the Greek Theodore. It might have been thought that the moment was come for reviving Gregory's designs in connexion with London and York. But, if the idea was ever entertained, the history of the last seventy years was too strong to be resisted. Theodore became Archbishop of Canterbury, not of London. The claims of York were only revived at a much later date, for good or for evil. 'Theodore was the first of the archbishops,' says Bede, 'whom the whole English Church agreed to obey.' English

[1] Bede iii. 25.

[2] See above, pp. 157—159.

Church history began a new chapter under Theodore; but the form of that history was already dictated by the successes of the mission of St Augustine.

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The gratitude of the early English Church to the memory of St Gregory, as to that of St Augustine, was unstinted. The Council of Clovesho in 747 decreed that the festivals of the two saints, whom it named together, should be honourably kept as festivals of universal obligation. 'St Augustine, Archbishop and Confessor,' so the decree describes him, 'who, being sent by the said Pope, our Father Gregory, first brought to the English nation the understanding of the faith, the sacrament of baptism, and the knowledge of the heavenly country.' It added that 'the name of the same blessed Father, our teacher Augustine, should always be said, in the singing of the litany, immediately after the invocation of St Gregory[1].' Our ancestors may perhaps have thought too little of the other agencies in the conversion of England; but they were right in thus singling out for especial honour the names of the two great Romans.

It was not unnatural that they should have extended their pious thankfulness from Gregory himself to the Church and See which he had adorned. 'The English,' says one ancient Chronicler, 'always belong more than others do to the Apostolic See.' Another Chronicler calls them 'the tributaries of St Peter,' and 'resents on that ground their payment of tribute to the Danes[2].'

Far be it from the Church of England to minimise its debt to St Gregory, or to ignore the historic connexion with his monastery on the Caelian Hill, out of which it drew its origin.

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[1] Constitution 17 (Haddan and Stubbs iii. p. 368). For other instances of English acknowledgments to Gregory see Plummer's *Bede* vol. ii. p. 67.

[2] See Plummer *l. c.*

But at the same time it may without ingratitude be said that, after the first founding was accomplished, the Church of England received no more benefit from Rome than other Churches did. It was a magnificent thing on the part of Gregory to send so large a body of his best men to England, and to reinforce their numbers afterwards. If modern England had dealt on as liberal a scale with Japan, or even with her own India, greater results would already have been attained in those countries. Yet it seems doubtful whether Gregory or the Roman Church did more for the missionaries than to start them on their journey, and to speed them with their prayers. Some funds for their journey may have been given them; but Gregory expected the bishops and potentates of Gaul to provide them with necessaries and to send them on with suitable *solacia*. Once in England, they received nothing more from Rome except a few church ornaments, and relics, and books, which came with the second batch of missionaries. Gregory's interest in their progress was doubtless, to the end of his days, intense and unintermittent; but there was no further intercourse that we know of after the departure of Mellitus with Lawrence in 601. Boniface IV. and Boniface V. wrote encouraging letters to the prelates of the young English Church, and to its kings; so did the heretical Pope Honorius, who also 'advised' Birinus to come to England as a missionary. Pope Vitalian did our Church a service only second to St Gregory's when he sent us Theodore and Hadrian, though he was not asked to do so. But these first seventy years reveal but little communication between the mother Church and the daughter. It has even been said that Gregory's successors showed but a languid interest in the island Church.

And with all their gratitude to Rome, and with all their respect for what they regarded as the authority of St Peter, our forefathers had no notion of being a mere dependency of the Apostolic See, receiving without question all its dictates. The very continuance of the primacy of Canterbury was a proof

that they—including Gregory's own missionaries—felt able to judge some important matters on the spot better than the Pope at a distance could do. Gregory's orders upon that point, as we have seen, fell dead; and the documents which profess to give an early Papal sanction to the arrangement which facts enforced are spurious documents of a later time. Anxious as the early English Church was to receive advice and support from Rome, it soon developed something of that spirit of insular liberty which has characterized its later history, and which in the days of Cyprian and the greater Augustine characterized the Church of Africa. When Wilfrid appealed to Rome against the decision of Theodore and the Church of England, England stood amazed with indignation; and Theodore, who had received his mission direct from Rome, waited for years before he complied with the judgment which a Roman Council formed upon the case.

Indeed the very claims put forward by the great Pope to whom the English Church owes most were entirely unlike those which Rome makes to-day. Imperious as Gregory was by natural temper, and high as were his views of the authority of Peter, his letters to Augustine show that he wished Augustine to act much upon his own judgment, and that he did not wish to encourage in him a habit of timid subservience. Nor did he encourage it in others. His denuntiations of John the Faster, Bishop of Constantinople, and of his successor Cyriac, for assuming the title of 'Universal Bishop,' have sometimes been thought to show only the resentment of one who felt the claims of his own see to be encroached upon. But his repudiations of a like language when addressed to himself by Eulogius, the Bishop of Alexandria, are too emphatic and too genuine in tone to be thus understood. 'You write to me, "As you commanded." I beg you to put that word out of my hearing; for I know who I am, and who you are. In station you are my brethren, in character my fathers. I never "commanded"; I only pointed out what I thought was

profitable.' 'If your Holiness calls me Universal Pope, you make out that *you* are not what you call *me*. Away with such a notion. Let us discard language which strains unity, and which wounds charity.' These words—and they are not the only ones to the point—help us to see that it was Gregory's real mind when he wrote to others such sentences as the following. 'If one is Universal Bishop, it remains that you are no bishops at all.' 'I confidently affirm that whoever calls himself Universal Bishop, or wishes to be so called, is in his self-exaltation a forerunner of Antichrist, because he proudly sets himself before the rest.' 'If one bishop is called the Universal Bishop, the Universal Church falls to the ground.'

The English Church holds now, as it always has done, though sometimes it has held it less clearly than at others, that Gregory was right in these statements. It takes its 'Apostle' at his word, and allows to no man, not even to the occupant of the see to which it owes its origin, a jurisdiction which would practically supersede that of its own bishops. The doctrine and practice of that great see differ in many most important directions from what they were in the time of St Gregory; and the Bishops of the Church of England, as responsible and independent guardians of the Catholic tradition, rightly refuse to put their judgment at the disposal of any Universal Bishop. Yet amidst all the inveterate departures of modern Romanism from ancient ways, and in spite of long oppressions and extortions in the Middle Ages and of unrelenting attack and contemptuous insults in later years, the English Church cannot cease to desire or to pray for a time when Rome may again make it possible to renew relations of frank friendship and mutual affection, such as existed in the earliest days of our ecclesiastical history.

DISSERTATION III.

The Landing place of St Augustine. By T. McKenny Hughes, M.A., F.R.S., *Woodwardian Professor of Geology in the University of Cambridge.*

St Augustine landed, so Bede tells us, on the isle of Thanet; but where in that isle he landed, is a question which opens out a very wide and diversified field of enquiry. There are certain traditions on the subject, the character of which it is necessary, so far as possible, to sift. Some inferences may possibly be drawn from the historical indications of the route taken by Augustine through Gaul. We have to consider the vessels likely to have been available for crossing the Channel, and what landing places there were suitable for the various kinds of craft. This involves a discussion of the features of the south-eastern coast of England, and of the changes which have taken place along the seaboard since the end of the sixth century. The evidence to be weighed is therefore historical and archæological, as well as geographical and geological; and we have to make sure that the theory we adopt is not proved to be impossible from any one of these points of view.

Augustine's route from Italy lay along the Riviera, by way of Lerins and Aix[1]. After this there is some uncertainty

[1] See above, pp. 26, 28.

owing to the widely scattered abodes of the bishops and potentates to whom he carried letters of recommendation. We may fairly allow however that provision was made for alternative routes and that Augustine was not expected to deliver all his letters in person. The one place to the north of Arles which we are fairly certain he visited was Autun[1], which shows that he took the most natural way along the valley of the Rhone. From Autun he may, perhaps, have turned to the north-east, to visit Brunichilda at Metz where it is known that she was residing in 599[2]; but Brunichilda was not a very stationary person, and it is not after all certain that Augustine came face to face with her, although she certainly helped him[3]. Then Augustine must have bent his course westward again, until he reached the coast, most likely at Boulogne.

Somewhere among the Franks, perhaps by the aid of Brunichilda, Augustine secured the assistance of interpreters. Besides their own Frankish tongue, these interpreters understood Augustine's Latin, and they understood also the language of the Jutes of Kent. It is exceedingly improbable that the Frankish tongue, or any dialect closely allied to it, was spoken by the inhabitants of Kent, although of course a Kentish man here or there might have acquired it. The two peoples were not nearly related to each other, and archæology does not reveal to us any extensive occupation of Kent, or of any part of the British Isles, by the people who used the urns and ornaments which are referred to the Franks in the north of France, and which form such a large part of the treasures of the Boulogne museum.

Yet all direct historical testimony, and all incidental references to the relations between the peoples on opposite sides of

[1] See pp. 46, 47.

[2] Haddan and Stubbs *Councils and Eccl. Documents* iii. 11, note C.

[3] See above, p. 48.

the Channel, show that there was constant intercourse and perfectly easy means of communication between them. Ethelbert had married a princess of the Royal Family of Paris. 'Men of the English' had been sent by one of the Frankish kings of Gaul with his own envoys to Constantinople[1]. Bishops like Agilbert and Felix and Wilfrid passed to and fro with freedom.

The well accredited and imposing deputation headed by Augustine, whose companions and attendants, by the time he reached his destination, amounted to at least forty persons, must have been an object of much interest, even if it met with no great sympathy, as it travelled on slowly, always asking for information about the far off country in the extreme north-west corner of the world[2]. They passed from one bishop, or from one religious house, to another; and protected by the powerful Frankish rulers, they at length arrived at the coast, where they could embark from one of the well-known Gallo-Roman ports, or, waiting on wind and tide, could find suitable ships in some creek or estuary, from which trading vessels commonly started to coast along the shores of France or to cross over to Britain. Whether it was from an ancient port, or whether it was from a sheltered creek, we may be sure that such a body of dignified Romans took the best means of crossing that were to be obtained. The sense of dignity and the love of what was impressive and imposing shows itself more strongly, perhaps, than any other feature in Augustine's character.

We may now ask what kinds of ship were available in those days for crossing the Channel and consider the bearing of this upon the probable landing place of Augustine. There

[1] Procopius *de Bell. Goth.* iv. 20. Green *Making of England* p. 210. Freeman *Norman Conquest* vol. I. pp. 30, 31.

[2] See Gregory's expression on p. 44.

were the fast pirate boats, propelled by oars as well as sails, which could penetrate inland along the creeks, pillage a district or town, or overhaul a merchant vessel and escape. What sort of vessels these were we may infer from the letter written by a friend to a newly appointed *comes litoris Saxonici* describing the prowess of these sea rovers whose ravages he was appointed to repel[1]. They were warships which could carry a large number of warriors and their arms, could run in through the surf, be readily beached and as easily put out to sea again if the victory did not rest with the invaders. The ancient ship dug out of the peat moss in Slesvig shows us what they were like[2]. This would be the kind of vessel in which Hengist and Horsa came over. They could if necessary have run their ships ashore in Pegwell Bay, unless they were welcomed as friends into the Wantsome. Augustine would not have found, nor is he likely to have sought, vessels of this description for his crossing.

But there were also the merchant ships on which the pirates preyed. These were larger and smaller trading vessels such as those of which Caesar was able to collect so many that, with others which he ordered to be built on purpose, they formed a fleet large enough to transport his army across the Channel. Many of them were of light draught, for we read that they were able to approach so near the shore that his troops jumped into the water and waded to land. When necessary they could be pulled up out of reach of the sea. Perhaps for this reason he had selected smaller boats.

There were however also larger and heavier vessels. We read of such in the middle ages carrying cargoes between France and Britain.

In the twelfth century, for instance, a number of trading

[1] Sidonius Apollinaris Ch. VIII. Ep. VI.

[2] Lubbock *Prehistoric Times* pp. 8, 9.

vessels started together from the creeks and estuaries that penetrate far inland in the neighbourhood of Boulogne. One of these was carrying dressed stones for the building of St Augustine's monastery. They had hardly got out to sea, when a violent storm came upon them, and all, to the number of fourteen, were capsized, except that which carried the stones for the sacred edifice. The sailors, thinking that the vessel would be more likely to ride out the storm if she were lightened, wished to throw these heavy masses of stone overboard; but the captain, a more shrewd and experienced seaman than his crew, said, 'No; in that heavy ballast lies our hope of safety.' So this vessel alone escaped, and eventually got safely across the Channel and landed the cargo. Compilers and commentators have dressed this obviously true story in the devout language of their time and preserved it among the Acta Sanctorum[1].

That is the kind of vessel Augustine would have found available in the neighbourhood of Boulogne. For that vessel was carrying stones from a quarry at Marchia in Flanders, a place situated up a creek near Boulogne, very like the creeks up which vessels sailed between Thanet and the mainland. It is true that the modern commentator explains the geography of the story for his readers by pointing to the position of Mark between Calais and Gravelines, but there is no building stone near that town. There is however up a creek near Boulogne, which was within the Flanders of the middle ages, a place called Marquise where Jurassic rocks are still quarried, like those of which parts of Canterbury are built, and I am informed by my friend M. Rigaux of Boulogne that remains have been found in the spoil heaps at the quarries which

[1] Acta Sanctorum Maii t. VI. Maii XXVI p. 398, § 17, 18, 19, 20, p. 399, § 23. Henschen Ed[n] Carnandet 1866. It is not improbable that the two stories refer to the same incident. The differences are due to glosses put in to explain the geography.

prove conclusively that they have been worked from Roman times.

The old story comes out therefore with the impress of truth upon its main features and we may appeal to it for the description of the ships of the early middle ages, and for the mode of handling them. They were sailing vessels which had oars in case the wind should fail, and which could be rowed or towed or punted up any creek where there was sufficient depth of water. We may feel pretty sure that when Augustine arrived with his followers on the coasts of the Channel and was enquiring for the best mode of crossing with all his followers to the Isle of Thanet, he would be recommended one of these seagoing vessels which could be navigated up the Wantsome just as he saw it had been taken up the creeks near Boulogne.

Augustine's voyage was no exploration of an unknown sea or casting ashore of voyagers bound for some other land. It was part of a deliberately planned journey for which all preparation had been made, safe conduct secured and interpreters engaged. He had not to build a ship for himself. Vessels had been crossing and recrossing for centuries, and there were plenty of experienced and hardy sailors to man them. The cliffs of Britain could be seen from the coasts of France, and the set of the tides was well known to men whose livelihood and lives depended upon their observation of the shifting currents of the Channel. Except the wind changed, they could reckon on making any port or landing place upon the opposite shore.

Whatever doubt there may have been in Rome as to what part of Britain Augustine should visit, there can have been no uncertainty when he had got as far as Boulogne, and he must have arranged with the captain of a good large seagoing vessel to take him and his followers to some landing place both suitable for the class of vessel he was likely to have secured, and convenient in regard to his intended subsequent proceedings.

Now we know what his subsequent proceedings were, and it certainly would be most convenient for him to land in a sheltered creek within easy reach of the mainland and in a place where he and his followers could find accommodation and the necessary food for such a large number. There is no reason whatever for supposing that they would stipulate to be put ashore on the exposed beach of Pegwell Bay. Nor would the captain of such a vessel, with forty passengers besides the crew and baggage, urge them from any nautical considerations to choose that landing. Even if Augustine, in ignorance of the dangers of a tidal sea, were to suggest that point, we should rather expect the captain to refuse to land there.

For we must remember the very different conditions of navigation in the tideless Mediterranean and the changeful Channel. Warships could go up the Tiber to Rome, but merchant vessels of any considerable tonnage could proceed no further than Ostia[1]. How different in the Channel! Large vessels could sail into bays or up creeks with the flowing tide and be left stranded on the ebb. It is the common method of carrying on the coasting trade to-day, and vessels are now navigated up the Wantsome with the incoming tide, and then, being made fast, rest on the mud banks till the tide returns and floats them off again. But it would be full of risk to run a large vessel on the exposed shore, at any rate a vessel so large that it could not be drawn up out of the reach of storm waves. Before the tide turned the weather might change and the vessel be dashed to pieces. Cæsar found to his cost that ships could not be left on the beach within reach of the tide or allowed to ride at anchor in the Channel. Hengist and Horsa with their warships might run ashore and their crew could pull the vessel out of the breakers if necessary. They might not know the safe creek by Rich-

[1] Torr *Ancient Ships* 1894.

borough, or, if they did, might not wish to trust themselves so far inland. But the captain of Augustine's ship would have been chosen because he knew the shore they were making for, and he would never have risked the safety of his vessel and the lives of his crew by running on an open shore. He must have made for the Wantsome.

In order to judge between the four rival spots which have claimed the honour of having first felt the feet of Augustine when he landed in Thanet, we must understand what was the aspect of that coast in the first six centuries of our era; for under existing geographical conditions some of those spots could not be approached by any vessel. The changes inferred are not merely hypothetical suggestions offered in order to explain historical difficulties, but they form part of the geological history of the south-east of England. In support of this account two other closely adjoining districts in Kent may be referred to, of which the conformation and history may be compared to that of Thanet.

On the south side of Kent, Romney Marsh was anciently cut up by creeks and waterways. Camden[1] tells us that the sea once ran between Romney Marsh and the solid ground of Kent. Along these inlets there were settlements such as the Roman town of Lympne. These channels have long since been choked and partly filled, in consequence of the geographical changes which have taken place along that part of the south-eastern coast.

So also on the north side of Kent, the silting up of similar channels may be studied in the Isle of Sheppey, where, however, the Swale, as the dividing water is called, has not yet been choked as much as has the Wantsome. In other respects also the history of this district bears a strong resemblance to that of Thanet and its marshes.

There is one principle of geology which must here be

[1] *Britannia* 1607. Gibson's ed. 1753 col. 255.

explained. A river cannot cut down its bed below sea level; and therefore, if we find a valley with its tributaries which we can refer to subaerial and fluviatile agents extending below sea level, we infer that the area has subsided since the valleys were scooped out by their several streams. When the area has been depressed and flooded by the sea it becomes what is called a "drowned valley," which in time is filled with alluvial deposits. That is the history of the broad marshes which separate Sheppey and Thanet from the mainland. One of the later prehistoric movements was a depression to such an extent as to let the waters of the sea flow freely through the submerged valleys and make islands of both Sheppey and Thanet. From that time to this, silting up has being going on, not uniformly, but now more now less rapidly according to local accidents.

If we compare the two areas more closely we shall find in Sheppey many useful illustrations of what was the former condition of Thanet. At the east end of Sheppey there is a shore accumulation creeping from the north across the channel. In this case it consists largely of the shells of cockles which lived in the mud on the north of the island and which, being thrown up by storms, died on the shore, while their empty shells were washed round Warden Point and finally being embayed came to rest at Shell Ness, where they have formed a deposit some ten feet in thickness. We can see the process going on still. So on the east coast of the Isle of Thanet there is a beach which has travelled south from Cliffs End near Ramsgate towards Stonar.

In Sheppey we see a promontory of alluvial material running north from the Whitstable Flats and overlapping the beach at Shell Ness. This corresponds to the beach and blown sand which is extending north from Deal and overlaps the Stonar beach.

At Sheppey too there is behind the beach at Shell Ness a small promontory of solid ground on which stands Mussel

Farm, named from the adjoining bank of shells. This was once washed by the sea but is now separated from it by the marsh which formed behind the advancing bank of Shellness. So in Thanet the farm of Ebbsfleet, named from the once contiguous creek, stands on a little spur behind the Pegwell Bay beach, which has cut it off from the sea and which let the sediment accumulate till not only was the marsh-land formed but even the fleet from which the farm took its name was silted up.

But a far more important analogy for our purpose may be pointed out. At the south-west corner of Sheppey, opposite Milton near Sittingbourne, the island of Elmley rises out of the marsh. The Swale runs between it and the mainland, and Elmley Island practically forms continuous land with Sheppey. There is however a small channel on the north of Elmley which connects the Swale with Windmill Creek. If any accident were to block the Swale between Elmley and the mainland, the water would certainly develope this small channel into Windmill Creek, and Elmley would be joined to the mainland instead of being part of Sheppey. That is *mutatis mutandis* what has happened in regard to Thanet and the island on which Richborough stands. There was once a channel, if not the principal channel, running as shown on the accompanying map round the west and south sides of Richborough, but this has now been silted up and Richborough island is now only cut off by dykes from the mainland.

Much of the geological history of Thanet has been anticipated in the comparison which has been drawn between it and that of Sheppey. But the reasons for its particular features may be somewhat enlarged upon. Thanet is now separated from the mainland by a wide and only partly reclaimed marsh. This represents a valley which was formed when the land all stood at a higher level, so that, as has been explained above, river denudation was able to excavate a channel. As reference is

made here to considerable earth movements, it may be well to point out that this area falls within an earthquake region of quite recent activity. When the land was depressed, this valley was invaded by the sea, and then silted up by tidal and alluvial deposits. We must picture the Wantsome therefore (see map) as at one time a deep channel with broad mud-flats on either side, over which the tide ebbed and flowed. The tidal current must at first have been very strong; for as the flood waters crowded up the English Channel they found relief through the Wantsome into the estuary of the Thames, and at the ebb they rushed out again, probably with still greater force, for the tidal wave coming later from the north would force back the waters to the south, and catching against the projecting northern coast of Kent would raise a head of water which would rush through the Wantsome to join the ebbing tide in the Straits of Dover.

This was the state of things when Bede described Thanet, explaining that the river Wantsome which was some three furlongs broad communicated with the sea by two mouths and thus cut it off from the mainland. He mentioned parenthetically that it could be crossed in two places only. The meaning of this is clear to those who are acquainted with the character of the estuary. It is not fordable anywhere, and you would nowadays be told by those conversant with the district that you could cross only at certain places, and those artificially adapted for the purpose. If you follow the river from its mouth to Stonar Cut for instance, you will find steep banks of clay, and if you slipped down one side into the water, you would find it exceedingly difficult to scramble up the bank on the other, even if you could succeed in getting out of the water at all[1]. At Stonar Cut you may see what has to be done to make a crossing. On the steeper side there are planks with ladder-like cross-bars, down which you walk to the boat, while

[1] Cf. Marbot's description of the French attempt to cross the Elster in the retreat from Leipzig. *Mémoires* Vol. III. p. 336.

on the other a great quantity of stone has been shot into the mud so as to form solid ground to land on. The stones would soon sink in or be covered by deep ooze if the crossing were neglected, and this had actually happened in 1485 to the ancient ferry at Sarre. For we learn from the Rolls of Parliament that this crossing was so "swaved, growen, and hyged with wose, mudde, and sand that nowe no Fery or other passage may be there[1]."

Any obstruction at either end of such a channel must check the scour, and sandbanks would form, shifting as the Stour and other streams brought a greater or smaller volume of water down and carried more or less mud, and also according as the winds from the Atlantic or those blowing over the North Sea prevailed. The channel would soon become silted up if any accident arrested the flow of the tide; for tidal water cannot accumulate indefinitely behind an obstacle, as would the waters of a river, until it overflowed or burst through the barrier. If the tide could not get over or break through in its hours of flow, it would retreat on its ebb the same way as it came. Thus there is no improbability in the tradition that the choking up of certain tidal waterways was caused by the sinking of a large vessel.

But more important obstructions were caused by natural changes along the seaward margin of this marsh where the Wantsome ran out towards the east. In the first place there was the shingle beach due to the strong back-water in Pegwell Bay. This travelled south from Great Cliff's End to the east of the promontory on which Ebbsfleet stands, and, in the days when the tidal waters in the Wantsome could escape freely eastward by Sandwich, it perhaps extended three miles or more in that direction, broken through from time to time by storm and flood. The Stonar bank is the southern end of this beach. The shingle was probably not deposited

[1] Burrows *Cinque Ports* p. 245.

quite uniformly along its whole length but was irregular, somewhat like the banks now seen running in an interrupted series between the Goodwin Sands and the coast[1]. The material of which the beach is composed has evidently travelled from north to south, being carried by the Pegwell Bay back-water from the cliffs near Ramsgate. This counter current explains the great destruction of those cliffs in recent times.

Then there is another wave-borne beach which is still travelling north from the cliffs near Deal, the sand of which, as it dries, feeds the dunes east of Sandwich, and creeping onward and repairing the breaches made in storms, keeps pushing the mouth of the Stour ever further north, so that it now far overlaps the Pegwell Bay spit of shingle, and the river Stour has been so far doubled back upon itself that after a course of some seven miles it is again within half a mile of its upper reaches. Towards the north end of the long loop thus formed by the river Stour the promontory of Ebbsfleet projects. It lies on the inner or western side of the Pegwell Bay beach and is the result of similar coast wasting in much earlier times.

In the region thus described, there are, as has been said, four spots for each of which the claim has been advanced that it was the landing place of St Augustine. These four are the Boarded Groin E, Stonar N, Ebbsfleet K, and Richborough. Lord Granville's Cross L does not profess to mark the landing place. We must however consider another possible site, namely that west of Ebbsfleet farm, M, where the farm buildings run down to the marsh. There seems to be some confusion about the use of the name Ebbsfleet. In old times of course the name referred to the *fleet* only, but now it is applied to the farm or even to the promontory on which the farm stands.

[1] See Admiralty Chart Sheet vii. *Dungeness to the Thames.* Report Brit. Assoc. 1885, *On the Rate of Erosion of the Sea-Coasts of England and Wales*, p. 415; D, East Kent by G. Dowker, F.G.S.

This promontory ran out into the mud-flats in such a manner that the west side was accessible from the Wantsome but the east side was not. Lord Granville's Cross L, the Boarded Groin E, Ebbsfleet east K (i.e. the spot marked on the Ordnance Map), and the site M (now suggested as more probable than any of these), are all within three-quarters of a mile of one another, and the name Ebbsfleet seems to be used by some for any spot within that area.

The Boarded Groin, E. This is an artificial bank lying on the outer, or eastern, side of the Ebbsfleet promontory, not far from the modern coastguard station. We must remember that the sea walls are all of much more recent date than the time of Augustine and were constructed after the silting up of the "flats" in order to cut off the pastures so reclaimed from incursions of tidal or flood water. Before their construction any portions of the coast not protected by high natural beaches or sand dunes were liable to be frequently flooded by tide and wind waves. From the account given by Boys, quoting Farmer's MSS., we can see exactly what the "fleets" were and their relation to the marsh land. They were creeks or inlets communicating with the open estuary, so that, if any part of the mud-flats were reclaimed, the floods must be cut off by banks from the fleet which would otherwise admit the tidal waters. Some persons in order to save the expense of keeping up such sea walls, dammed the fleet itself, and this gave rise to litigation on the ground that they were interfering with the rights of navigation. The bank known as the Boarded Groin is only one of these sea walls thrown up parallel to the shore line of this part of the bay; and the necessity for building it shows that the natural beach did not then form a sufficient protection to the marshy pasture land behind it. There cannot then have been any high bank like that on which the road now runs, for we see that the shingle has been heaped up on the east or seaward side of "the Boarded Groin."

If therefore we must attach any value to the tradition that some important landing took place on the spot where "the Boarded Groin" now stands, it must have been that of some body of men who did not mind running on to an exposed shore where vessels would have to be driven through the surf in stormy weather. There were many incursions by Saxon, Angle, Jute and Dane, and tradition may have carried on the record of the landing of any of these invaders, who would have avoided "the usual landing place" and run their vesssels ashore where they thought they would be least expected. It was one thing for the little sharp-prowed war-keels to come ashore on that exposed and open beach, and another for such a freight-vessel as most probably carried the missionaries to do the same. Unless there were some very special reason to the contrary—and we know of none—Augustine's vessel would be certain to make for the sheltered port, to round the entrance into the Wantsome, and to choose one of the usual places of disembarkation.

Stonar, N. Upon entering the south-eastern mouth of the Wantsome, the first place at which a landing would be possible on the Thanet side of the Channel was the place called Stonar N, which has already been several times mentioned. It was on the right-hand side of the entrance, and was connected with the main body of the Isle of Thanet by that long shingle beach which has been described as contributing so much to the silting-up of the harbour inside of it. Here in Roman times there was a small settlement, perhaps a small fortification to guard the approach to Richborough. It is thought by some that here was the most suitable place for the missionaries to go ashore upon the Isle of Thanet. And, indeed, if there were not places that had a stronger claim, the claims of Stonar might not be at once rejected. If from the beginning the foreigners were bent upon landing on the right-hand side of the Channel, they might perhaps as well land at Stonar as farther on, though the spot was not very sheltered. Stanley

mentions it as one of the four possible sites and refers to the Sandwich MSS[1] in support of the view that the missionaries landed here; but he points out that according to Hasted this spot must have been a mere island, if not covered by the sea. This however is an exaggerated view of what was the condition of the area in the time of Augustine. It is true that there were no sea walls, and the northward travelling sand dunes had not got as far as they have since. It was therefore much more exposed both to wind and tide. Indeed the spray must have reached it so frequently that we can hardly suppose that any trees could then have thriven upon it. Still it was habitable. It is recorded on the six inch Ordnance Map that Roman remains have been found near the existing houses, and in early medieval times it seems to have been a place of some importance. But, in the absence of any particular reason from the necessities of the voyage or from historical evidence, there is very little to urge in favour of this being the place where Augustine and his followers first touched English soil.

Ebbsfleet east, K. "Ebbsfleet," in a wide sense, is at the present time the favourite claimant. Near it stands Lord Granville's Cross L, maintaining for Ebbsfleet, as is done for no other place by any similar means, that it was somewhere near there that Gregory's mission first touched English soil. But the place where Lord Granville's Cross is erected is near Cliff's End, and on ground which has not been on the sea margin within historic times. Indeed the inscription on the Cross only claims that it represents the spot where Augustine first met Ethelbert, not the spot where he landed. If the landing was near Ebbsfleet, it was certainly not where the Cross stands. We must look for the spot elsewhere.

In front of the cottages at the base of the slope east of Ebbsfleet Farm, there is an enclosure extending over what was formerly part of the tide-covered mud-flats. It lies about a

[1] Boys *Sandwich* p. 836.

third of a mile west of "the Boarded Groin." On this a small cross on the six inch Ordnance Map indicates the spot where it was supposed when that map was constructed that the Saxons and afterwards Augustine landed. There does not appear to be any reason for supposing that any creek ran in here either from the Wantsome or from Pegwell Bay. There is not a sufficient body of inland waters to keep a creek open. There is another bank E′ apparently on the same line as the Boarded Groin E, and a small covering earthwork connected with it at the south end, and at one time the outfall for the waters of the uplands and marsh may have been between these banks and the Boarded Groin, but there are now traces of an almost continuous beach in front of it. This beach, however, was not then sufficient to protect the marshes, for, as we have seen, it was found necessary to throw up the Boarded Groin to keep out the sea. When the Boarded Groin did not exist, and the beach was insufficient to keep out the sea, the spot (**K**) as indicated on the Ordnance Map cannot have been a safe or usual landing place. Thus we may dismiss any spot on the east of the Ebbsfleet promontory as being almost impossible for Augustine and improbable for even Hengist and Horsa, for it does not appear that they landed as enemies.

Ebbsfleet west, M. On the inland or west side of the Ebbsfleet promontory, however, there is a much greater probability of a creek being kept permanently open. Upland waters draining the basin near Way, east of Minster, and running at the foot of Clappers Hill, and further added to by feeders from Thorne Cottages, Sevenscore, and the Yellows, would together form a considerable body of spring water, which, helped by the periodic flushing which the channel would receive from the pent up flood and tidal waters, would fully explain the former existence of a fleet here. A farmstead often represents a very early enclosure, and though we cannot find anything ancient about the premises now, we see that it runs down to the edge of the marsh on the west and not to that on the east; thus, as far as

it goes, confirming the evidence that the fleet was on the west side of the promontory. If this be so, it ran into the Wantsome, which may in those days have been much nearer than the channel of the Stour is now,—and that is not half a mile from the farm. So there does not appear to be any geographical reason why the missionaries may not have landed here, if other evidence is in favour of their having advanced so far.

If the missionaries landed at all upon the right-hand side of the main channel of the Wantsome, Ebbsfleet west of the promontory would doubtless be a good place. At "Heopwines Fleet,"—as the fleet was then called,—the Saxons are said in the Saxon Chronicle to have come ashore[1]. The tongue of land upon which Ebbsfleet farm now lies stood out into the mud or water of the Wantsome, running up to the natural beach which protected it from the east; while alongside of it, on the Minster side, ran the fleet or creek itself, deep enough and wide enough in all probability for the Frankish vessel,—or the returning English vessel, whichever she was,—to lie-to in, or rest on the bottom at low tide, while she discharged such a cargo as Kent had probably never seen before.

The charm of Stanley's advocacy has given Ebbsfleet for the present the possession of the coveted distinction. Haddan and Stubbs, Bright, Green, Plummer, and most other modern authorities, adopt Stanley's conclusions with more or less decision. Yet the pleadings on behalf of Ebbsfleet are not entirely convincing. Stanley's main argument is, after all, an assertion which melts away under examination. Ebbsfleet, he says, was in early days "the usual" landing place in Thanet. His

[1] See under the year 449. There seems to be no reason to doubt that Heopwine's and Ebb's fleet are the same. The derivation of the latter from the ebb and flow of the tide is absurd, for every fleet in the district was subject to the same; and besides, the name must in that case have been Ebb-fleet, not Ebbsfleet. The form clearly denotes a possessive of some kind.

instances are the Saxons, St Mildred, and the Danes. He gives no reference in connexion with the mention of "the Danes." The whole story of the landing of the Saxons is wrapped in uncertainty. St Mildred more probably landed at her own Minster. The chapel which Stanley says was built over the stone on which Augustine stepped, was not at Ebbsfleet. Ebbsfleet was "afterwards," to use Stanley's words[1], "the port of the Abbey of St Augustine," and "Ebb's" has accordingly been supposed by some to be a corruption of "Abbot's." It would have been, therefore, to the interest of the monks of St Augustine's Abbey to have maintained that their great Eponym had disembarked in their own port. But they knew nothing of his disembarking there. Thorn, doubtless copying from the earlier Sprott, and followed by the later Elmham, affirms without any question that Augustine landed at Richborough.

Richborough. Now undoubtedly if the travellers had been free to disembark at any point they liked in the neighbourhood of the Wantsome, Richborough—or to be quite exact the port of Richborough—would have been the natural point for them to seek. Bede begins, or all but begins, his description of Britain by appropriating the words of Orosius (they are not easy to translate):—'It has to the south of it Belgic Gaul, the shore of which, taking the nearest passage, lies open to a city named the Port of Richborough (now corrupted by the English into Reptacaestir), the sea between this and Boulogne, the nearest shore of the Moryni, being fifty miles across[2].' Notwithstanding the perverseness of a style which is that of Tacitus gone mad, the meaning of Orosius was plain. Richborough was then to Boulogne what Folkestone is now. It

[1] *Memorials of Canterbury* p. 28.

[2] Bede *Hist. Eccl.* i. 1: *Habet a meridie Galliam Belgicam, cuius proximum litus transmeantibus aperit ciuitas, quae dicitur Rutubi portus, a gente Anglorum nunc corrupte Reptacaestir uocata, interposito mari a Gessoriaco Morynorum gentis litore proximo, traiectu milium quinquaginta.*

was "the usual" landing place. If you wished to cross from Boulogne, the obvious thing was to steer for Richborough. This, it can hardly be doubted, is what the Roman missionaries did.

But here comes the difficulty that, as was said at the beginning of this Dissertation, St Augustine landed in Thanet. Bede's words are plain; and Bede's authority in the matter is unexceptionable. It would seem to us at first sight as if the statement absolutely excluded all possibility of a landing at Richborough. But here again the Chronicles of St Augustine's come in to aid, or to perplex us further. Thorn knew his Bede; and what is more, he must have known his Wantsome. The Treasurer of St Augustine's (he held that office in the great Abbey) must many times have visited the harbour over whose dues his house had so many disputes with the neighbouring Priory of the Cathedral. It was only ten miles off; and Thorn, and Elmham, and presumably Sprott before them, were conscious of no contradiction in their terms, when they said very simply, as if it was what everybody knew, that the missionaries landed at Richborough in Thanet. These are Thorn's words: 'They came ashore in the isle of Thanet, at the place called Richborough, where our father Augustine, as he stepped out of the ship, happened to stand upon a certain stone, and the stone took the impression of his foot as if it had been clay. In consequence of this event, the stone was taken and honourably placed inside the saint's chapel there; and every year on the day of his burial crowds of people gather there for devotion, and in hopes of recovering health, saying, "We will worship in the place where his feet stood'."[1] It was

[1] Thorn, col. 1759: *Applicuerunt uero in insula de Taneth in loco qui dicitur Retesbourgh, ubi patre Augustino de naui descendente super quandam petram a casu stetit, et pedem eius eidem quasi luto impressit. Cuius rei gratia idem lapis assumitur et intra capellam de eodem sancto ibidem fundatam honorifice collocatur, sed et singulis annis die suae depositionis ob deuotionem et spem recuperandae sanitatis fit concursus*

not, to Thorn, a choice between a landing in Thanet and a landing at Richborough; a landing at Richborough was a landing in Thanet. The chapel of St Augustine at Richborough, of which Thorn speaks, was not quite forgotten nearly a hundred and fifty years later. Stanley refers to it, but only to make it a memorial of Augustine's landing there afterwards, when (as he supposes) he crossed from Thanet to the mainland. 'An old hermit,' he writes, 'lived amongst the ruins [of Richborough Castle] in the time of Henry VIII., and pointed out to Leland what seems to have been a memorial of this [viz. according to his view, of the king's meeting Augustine there on that later occasion] in a chapel of St Augustine, of which some slight remains are still to be traced in the northern bank of the fortress....The curious cross in the centre was then called by the common people "St Augustine's Cross" (Camden, p. 342).' The chapel was no doubt the same that Thorn mentions, and it commemorated, not that unimportant reception of which Stanley speaks, but the great first landing, and the great first meeting with Ethelbert, in the open air, on the island of Thanet[1].

But how came it to be possible for anyone to describe Richborough as being in the Isle of Thanet? We cannot now say for certain where the main channel of the Stour or of the Wantsome ran thirteen hundred years ago. But one thing is tolerably clear. To a much later date than that of which we are speaking Richborough was itself an island, at any rate at

populorum dicentium, '*adorabimus in loco ubi steterunt pedes eius.*' It is not very likely that the impressionable stone would have been brought from Ebbsfleet to Richborough. It might have been taken from Ebbsfleet to Canterbury, or from Ebbsfleet to Minster, but Richborough was not an obvious place to take it to. But there would be nothing strange in taking the stone from the landing-stage at Richborough into a chapel *ibidem*.

[1] These facts about the chapel preclude us from adopting the view that when the Augustinians speak of Richborough they mean the whole harbour of Richborough, including both sides of the Wantsome.

every high tide. Hasted[1] says of it, "This tract of land is supposed to have been an island, in the ancient state of the country, and it is at this time cut off from Guston by a narrow strip of marsh, across which even now, in wet times, the water flows, insomuch that people passing along from Ash to Richborough, are obliged to pass through it." Boys[2] speaks of it as "seated on a small island, in the very mouth of a shallow bay." Even nowadays as you walk across the marsh-land from Shellness you see the walls of Richborough crowning a hill which rises in front of you out of the centre of the plain, apparently the nearest and certainly the most imposing elevation on your horizon. In those days it must have been far more conspicuous; and if any doubt existed in the minds of travellers as to the most likely spot to find a landing, that was the obvious place to make for.

If we examine this hill we find that it is surrounded on every side by marshes and continuous ditches. Even now it is frequently in flood time cut off from the mainland by a broad belt of water more than 500 feet across at the narrowest part, and in the old times, before the sea walls were built and when the tidal and upland waters were less under control, there must have been a great scour at every high tide, along "the Rubery," as the narrow marsh between Richborough and the mainland is now called. In confirmation of this view we find, on the west of the Rubery, Fleet Farm, obviously named from the channel which formerly ran through here connecting the tidal flats south and west of Richborough Hill with those on the north and communicating with the Wantsome at either end. Richborough was not then part of the mainland. It is true that it lay nearer to the mainland than to the Isle of Thanet; but this fact does not counterbalance the evidence derived from the actual usage of the monks of St Augustine's.

[1] *Hist. Kent* (1778—1799) vol. 3, p. 386, note 6.
[2] *Sandwich* vol. ii. p. 870.

Richborough stood in a somewhat similar relation as regards the Isle of Thanet, to that in which Elmley or Harty Island stands to the Isle of Sheppey. Elmley and Harty Island are separated by tidal water from Sheppey, and yet they are always accounted to belong to it. It would seem from the straightforward expressions of Thorn that in his time Richborough island was in like manner accounted to belong to Thanet.

If, in spite of the Canterbury tradition, we are to maintain that the Roman missionaries were carried past Richborough to Ebbsfleet, there must have been a reason for it. Here again the conditions of the estuary must be taken account of. It was not at all probable that ships could be navigated through the mæandering course of the Wantsome in one flood tide even as far as Ebbsfleet, especially as it must have risen somewhat before they would attempt to cross the bar, and the captain of Augustine's vessel would make for a good roadstead to lie in till he could resume his journey. The first suitable place was the Port of Richborough. They would hardly have gone past Richborough without making an attempt to land there. If they went on, it must have been because someone at Richborough informed them that they must go further off. It is to be remembered that they brought with them no letters to Ethelbert or even to Bertha. They were not expected. The king neither knew that they were coming, nor where they were coming from, nor why they came, till they had landed and Augustine's messengers went up to Canterbury. That at least is the impression which Bede's narrative gives. But wherever they landed in Thanet, it seems probable that they were landed there for the same sort of reason for which the king first received them in the open air. The strip of water between them and the mainland might serve as a kind of spiritual disinfectant. They were literally to be isolated, for fear, probably, of their working spells. The narrative points somewhat to the supposition that they were not quartered in a town

or village, but left to sleep on board their ship, or in tents, or in the open, though supplies were to be brought to them.

These purposes would be as well served at Richborough as they would at Ebbsfleet. The guardian water flowed round it as it did round Thanet proper. And there is no reason to think that Richborough island was then largely inhabited. We know of no example of the Old English folk, whether Jutes or Saxons or of whatever nationality they may have been, having settled at once in a Roman or Romano-British town. They seem to have destroyed all the towns or to have driven out all the old inhabitants and allowed the houses to fall into decay. They frequently settled near, and by degrees their settlement extended over the ruins of the ancient town, so that many of our modern towns are on Roman sites; but there is no such example of that mixture of remains as would show continuity of occupation. There is no ground for supposing that it was otherwise at Richborough. If the invaders of the fifth and sixth centuries of our era settled in the isle of Richborough, their settlement would have been outside the Roman military station. The missionaries may have been accommodated in the deserted fort of which we see remains still existing, rather than in the English town which sprang up near it.

It is a remarkable fact, as pointed out by Mr Sharpe in his paper read before the Archæological Institute at Canterbury in 1896, that there are no traces of a Roman road from Canterbury to Richborough Castle. The road ran to Sandwich. Sandwich was not a Roman town; at least there do not appear to be any Roman remains there. Though vessels coming up the Wantsome must pass the spot, and there may have been an anchorage there earlier than Saxon times, still it seems most probable that the town of Sandwich sprang up after the decay of Richborough[1]. Mr Sharpe infers from this

[1] Burrows *Cinque Ports* 1888, p. 30.

that the anchorage for Richborough was off Sandwich, and that the line of traffic from the country ran to the port and not to the military station of Richborough. But there was also another reason. Richborough was on an island, and the only safe and sure route to it in those days was to get to the shore lower down the Wantsome and go up with the tide in a boat. Supposing Augustine and his followers had wished to put themselves at once upon the Canterbury road they might have landed at Sandwich; as they did not, or were not allowed to do so, they would go on to Richborough.

If, therefore, the object in going to Thanet was to avoid too close a contact with king Ethelbert's land and his people, that object would seem to be as well secured at Richborough as at Ebbsfleet, if not better. Richborough in the Isle of Thanet was a convenient, and at the same time a sequestered spot. And it was a singularly impressive one for the Roman Augustine to arrive at, as he came like a new Agricola or Plautius to take possession of Britain once more in the name of Rome. Historical truth may not swerve to the right or to the left to indulge a sentimental imagination; but it is a gratifying thing to discern that the only positive evidence which we possess is in favour of the belief that Augustine's first night in England was spent beneath the rock-like walls of the Roman fortress of Richborough.

[Since this Dissertation was printed, the claims of Stonar have been urged in an interesting paper by Mr George Dowker in the *Archæologia Cantiana* vol. xxii. p. 123. His paper does not, however, lead us to alter the opinions above expressed.]

Description of Map.

The accompanying map has been drawn on the scale of one inch to a mile from the six inch Ordnance Map, the Admiralty Chart and the Geological Survey Map. The island of Richborough has been resurveyed.

A The Wantsome, a deep channel which ran from sea to sea between Thanet and the mainland.

B Extensive mud-flats, some of which were overflowed by every tide and some only occasionally by very high tides.

C Inlets or creeks, which when used for navigation were known as *fleets*. These ran from the borders of the higher ground into the Wantsome, being kept open by the running water from the uplands which removed the soft mud left by the checked tidal currents.

D Small islets still seen, projecting through the marsh.

E The Boarded Groin. E′ the banks in continuation of it.

F The interrupted beach between Cliff's End and Stonar.

G The banks between the Goodwin Sands and Pegwell Bay.

H The Beach and Sand-dunes travelling north from the Deal shore. The direction of the prevalent transport of the material is indicated by arrows.

K The supposed landing place marked on the Ordnance Map east of the Ebbsfleet promontory.

L The position of Lord Granville's Cross indicating the place of meeting of St Augustine and the King.

M The farmstead on the inland or west side of the Ebbsfleet promontory. This runs down to the edge of the supposed fleet from which it takes its name.

N The place where Roman and other remains were found at Stonar.

O The reputed sites of battles.

Map to face this page.

N
S

DISSERTATION IV.

Notes on some Liturgical Questions relating to the Mission of St Augustine. By the Rev. H. A. Wilson, M.A., *Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.*

The first recorded act of public worship by St Augustine and his band of missionaries on English ground took place on the day when they presented themselves for the first time before Ethelbert. They came into his presence marching to the sound of Church music under the pictured banner of the Great King, with a silver cross borne before their procession, "chanting litanies and beseeching the Lord for the everlasting welfare of themselves and of those to whom they had come." And when, after they had "preached the word of life" to the king and to his company, they took their way to the place assigned for their abode, their entry into Canterbury was marked by like ceremonial. A tradition preserved to us by Bede records the words which they sang in their approach to the city:—"We beseech Thee, O Lord, according to all Thy mercy, that Thy wrath and Thine anger may be turned away from this city, and from Thy holy house: for we have sinned. Alleluia[1]."

[1] See Bede *Hist. Eccl.* i. 25.

The source of this anthem is no doubt to be found in the prayer of Daniel[1]: the words are in close agreement with the Latin version of that prayer cited by the greater St Augustine[2]: and the use made of the words is in all probability more ancient than the coming of the mission. As Dr Bright remarks[3], the chant was one which the missionaries had most likely heard during their stay in Gaul. Litanies, of course, were not unknown to them in Rome. In one form or other, indeed, the litany is a very early and a very widely-spread type of Christian prayer. The use of processional litanies at Rome is sometimes said to have begun in the time of St Gregory the Great. It is much more likely that when St Gregory regulated the ceremonies of the "Great Litany" of the 25th of April he was only adapting to a particular purpose, and investing with special solemnity, a form of service already in frequent use.

But the use of such litanies in the three days preceding Ascension Day was not of Roman origin. It was not until the time of Leo III. (795—816) that the "Rogation" litanies were established at Rome[4]. In Gaul, at the time of St Augustine's mission, they were already generally observed. They are said to have had their beginning at Vienne, about the year 470: their general adoption was ordered by the Council of Orleans in 511: and in 567 a council held at Lyons had provided that similar litanies should be used also in the week preceding the first Sunday of November[5]. It is therefore likely that St Augustine and his companions had witnessed, or had taken part in, these processions more than once during the time

[1] Dan. ix. 16.

[2] The resemblance to this version, though not exact, is closer than that to the later Vulgate text. See St Augustine *Epist.* cxi (*ad Victorianum*).

[3] Bright *Early English Church History* p. 48 (ed. 1878).

[4] *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne) vol. ii. p. 12. The earliest Sacramentaries of the Gregorian class do not recognise the Rogation Days.

[5] Bruns *Canones* vol. ii. pp. 165, 224.

which had passed since they first set out from Rome. The anthem which Bede has preserved for us certainly appears in one of the Rogation litanies in use long afterwards at Vienne, and probably in other Churches of France[1]. It may be that the Gallican custom of Rogation processions, which we find established in England as an ancient usage at a time when it was still unrecognised at Rome[2], was first brought into England by the Roman Mission.

Such an adoption of a new usage, on an occasion of a very special and peculiar character, for which the ordinary usages of the Roman Church could hardly be expected to supply any guidance, cannot be held to show any tendency on the part of St Augustine to forsake the customs with which he had long been familiar in favour of those with which he had but recently become acquainted. The common worship of the missionary settlement at Canterbury, carried on in the Church of St Martin, no doubt had for its model the worship of the Roman mon-

[1] See Martène *de Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus* vol. iii. p. 189 (ed. 1764). It is a coincidence perhaps worth noting that the anthem in question was sung at Vienne just before the procession halted at the church of St Martin. It is to be observed that several of the anthems from these Vienne litanies are brought together in the "Hymn of St Mugint" in the Irish *Liber Hymnorum*. The Alleluia does not appear in the Irish hymn: and Mr Plummer (*Baedae Opera Hist.* vol. ii. p. 43) calls attention to its absence from the Anglo-Saxon version of the passage in Bede. This is perhaps due to a sense of the incongruity of the joyous Alleluia with a penitential anthem. The use of Alleluia was not in early times confined to festival days: but it may be remarked that it forms the regular conclusion of the anthems in the Rogation litanies extracted by Martène from French service-books, and in the Rogation litanies of Sarum and York. Its presence in the anthem sung by St Augustine's company, and in the Rogation litanies, may be sufficiently accounted for by the fact that all of these were used in the time between Easter and Pentecost.

[2] The Council of Clovesho (747) orders the observance of the Rogation processions *secundum morem priorum nostrorum*. Haddan and Stubbs *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* iii. 368.

astery of St Andrew. In the observance of hours of prayer, in the order of the mass, in the ceremonial with which he administered the sacrament of Baptism to his first converts, St Augustine would naturally follow the Roman usage of his own time: and down to the date of his consecration nothing is recorded which suggests the adoption of any other model[1].

We cannot, however, accurately determine the precise stage in the development of the Roman liturgy which had been reached at the time when the mission set out from Rome. That St Gregory introduced certain modifications in the liturgy, we know: but we do not know precisely when they took effect[2]. The statement that St Gregory revised the Sacramentary drawn up by St Gelasius has been very widely accepted: and it has been held that what is commonly called the "Gelasian" Sacramentary represents, in the main, and with certain exceptions, the Roman use before St Gregory's reforms, while the result of those reforms is to be found (when certain later additions are eliminated) in the earliest type of the Sacramentaries known as "Gregorian." But even if we assume the accuracy of this

[1] That the Roman style of Church music was maintained at Canterbury appears from Bede *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 20, where it is recorded of James the Deacon that he instructed many persons in chanting *iuxta morem Romanorum siue Cantuariorum*.

[2] St Gregory's letter to John of Syracuse, in which some liturgical changes are mentioned, belongs to the latter part of 598. The addition of the words *Diesque nostros* etc. to the Canon of the Mass, attributed to St Gregory by Bede (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 1) and by the *Liber Pontificalis* (vol. i. p. 312, ed. Duchesne, on which see Duchesne's note on p. 313) is not mentioned in this letter. This however, since the letter discusses only changes to which objection had been made, is not inconsistent with the supposition that the words had been introduced before the date of the letter. On the other hand the revision of the Sacramentary as a whole, attributed to St Gregory by John the Deacon (*De Vita Gregorii* ii. 17), would be a process requiring considerable time. It is quite likely that it was not yet completed at the time when St Augustine left Rome.

view, we cannot say when the "Gregorian" Sacramentary first appeared, or which of the two models was known to St Augustine, at the time when he left Rome, as the standard of the Roman liturgy. Whether St Augustine brought St Gregory's recension of the Sacramentary with him to England, or received it later, we can hardly doubt that the form in which the Roman liturgy became known and settled in England during the seventh century was that due to St Gregory's labours. And the fact that the Roman rite was introduced amongst the English people at a date which corresponds with the work of St Gregory, and in such a manner as to make it very unlikely that the contents or the text of the mass-book underwent much change, would suffice to render the discovery of an early English Sacramentary a matter of great importance to the study of Liturgy. A seventh century English mass-book, if it could be found, might solve for us some questions which are still doubtful. It would help us to ascertain more accurately than is now possible the original contents and text of the Gregorian Sacramentary. It would supply us with a test by which we might learn how the book which forms the kernel, so to say, of the "Gregorian" Sacramentaries produced on the Continent in the early part of the ninth century was related to St Gregory's recension:—whether, that is to say, it differed from that recension merely in respect of a few later additions, or represented the form which that recension had assumed, by the end of the eighth century, through a process of change as well as of enlargement. It would probably enable us to judge more certainly as to the true position of the books known as "Gelasian," whether of the earlier type represented by the one manuscript commonly called "the Gelasian Sacramentary," or of the later type, represented by a group of manuscripts which, while they clearly have strong affinities with the earlier, yet seem to be also closely related to the books known as "Gregorian." The earliest English Sacramentaries now known to students are all of the "Gregorian" class; but they are of

too late a date to afford us any certain evidence as to the exact usage followed by St Augustine[1].

According to Bede's narrative, St Augustine sent to Rome, very shortly after his consecration, a number of questions on doubtful points for St Gregory's decision, and received replies, which, with the questions, are preserved to us in a document, or combination of documents, incorporated in Bede's work[2]. The most important pair of this series of questions and answers for our present purpose is the second, which has been supposed to indicate a change of liturgical usage, and on which some theories, once widely spread, have been made in part to rest[3].

The difficulty in which St Augustine desires counsel or direction is occasioned by diversity in ecclesiastical usage, and in particular by the fact that "in the holy Roman Church one custom of masses is maintained, and in the Churches of the Gallic countries another." The Pope's reply advises a wise selection. "Things are not to be loved for the sake of places, but places for the sake of good things." He is to choose out and collect for the "Church of the English," whose customs

[1] Mr Martin Rule has recently edited a mass-book which belonged to St Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury. He conceives that the text of this book has been specially influenced by a manuscript of early date, which he supposes to have represented the last recension of the Sacramentary made by St Gregory, and to have been preserved at Canterbury. The *Missal of St Augustine's Abbey* is a manuscript of about the year 1100. Both in arrangement and in text it agrees on the whole with other manuscripts of its own date: and Mr Rule's arguments do not suffice to produce conviction of the truth of his theory.

[2] Bede *Hist. Eccl.* i. 27.

[3] Doubts have been raised as to the authenticity of this series of questions and answers as a whole, and in particular as to the authenticity of the fifth and the second responses of St Gregory. The questions relating to these points may be more conveniently discussed elsewhere (see Preface, p. viii.). But here, it may be well to consider the question whether, assuming the authenticity of the questions and answers, and assuming that they belong to the time to which Bede refers them, the theories which have been built upon the second question and answer can be sustained.

are still unmade, all that seems best in the Roman usage or the usage of other Churches, in Gaul or elsewhere. Both the problem and the advice given for its solution have been made the basis for inferences not warranted by the terms in which they are stated.

It is supposed, on the one hand, that St Augustine had found in use among the Britons a rite agreeing with that which he had observed in Gaul[1]: and on the other hand it has been taken for granted that the method which he actually followed, in accordance with St Gregory's response, was that of combining the Roman with the British, or Gallican, rite, to form a new rite for the "Church of the English[2]." It seems, however, on the whole, most likely that St Augustine had not as yet come into contact with the British Christians at all at the time when he sent his questions to Rome. Had he done so the questions would probably have included more special enquiries on subjects such as that of the British Paschal cycle, of the ritual of Baptism, and other matters which were afterwards debated. Of these the document before us has no trace; yet, as soon as the British bishops actually appear as taking part in the events of Bede's narrative, these questions come into prominence.

The question whether the usage of Gaul or that of Rome was to be the standard for the English was one which would naturally arise as soon as St Augustine returned to Kent from his consecration at Arles. The rite followed by Liudhard and any priests who were with him—the rite, so to say, of the Queen's chapel—was most probably Gallican: and if this was

[1] So (*e.g.*) Watterich *Der Konsekrationsmoment im heiligen Abendmahl* p. 213.

[2] So (*e.g.*) Blunt *Annotated Book of Common Prayer* (ed. 1884) p. 346. The writer says that St Augustine "introduced some changes into the Liturgy which he found in use" among the British: and declares that, as a result of these changes, "the Liturgy of the Church of England after St Augustine's time became a modified form of the more ancient Gallican."

the case, it may easily be seen that from the first, and within the limits of Ethelbert's kingdom, some difficulties would arise from the diverse "customs of masses." These would not be lessened if, as seems likely, the Franks who had come with the missionaries to England as interpreters were accustomed to the Gallican rite. St Augustine would have to face the question whether it was desirable to allow a diversity which might lead to division and disunion within the royal household, and among the growing body of English Christians: and the doubt may have arisen in his own mind, even if it were not pressed upon him by others, whether he ought to maintain the Roman custom, or to adopt that of the Church from which he had received consecration. It is clear that such questions would probably present themselves for solution, quite apart from any information which may have reached him as to the usages of the Britons[1].

With regard to the liturgy in use among the Britons at the time of St Augustine's mission there is a good deal of room for conjecture, and not much ground for any decided conclusion. But whatever their rite may have been, we do not gather from Bede's statement that St Augustine sought to amend or to alter it. No mention of any proposal for a change in their mode of celebrating the Eucharist finds a place among the terms proposed by him to the British bishops[2]. Nor is it said that their customs in this matter were among the subjects discussed at the first conference, before his formulation of terms, though they may be included by Bede in the wide

[1] The most marked difference between the Roman and Gallican rite is this. The Roman Canon, with the exception of a few minor clauses, which vary on certain days, is fixed and unchanging. In the Gallican rite, on the other hand, only a few sections of the corresponding portion of the mass are fixed: the prayers which are grouped about these fixed portions, and with them make up the whole of the consecration-prayer, varied from day to day.

[2] Bede *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 2.

phrase in which he speaks of "practices contrary to Church unity" maintained by the Britons.

It is doubtful, therefore, what the precise occasion of St Augustine's question may have been, although it may be clear that the cause of his difficulty was the presence of Gallican "customs of the mass" either among the Britons or among those to whom he had been specially sent. But it is doubtful also what course he took in consequence of St Gregory's response. There is absolutely no evidence that he made any attempt, such as is sometimes attributed to him, to form a special rite for the "Church of the English." The answer left it open to him, if he thought the Roman usage best (and it is most likely, *a priori*, that this would be his opinion) to maintain it either side by side with the Gallican rite, or as the sole rite of the Church he had been sent to found. The presence, in later English service-books, of anything which is due to the Gallican tradition, as opposed to the Roman, may be easily accounted for by the course of events after St Augustine's days. Where Celtic missionaries came, and where Celtic influence made itself felt, we might expect to find some traces of Gallican usages: the Stowe Missal shows us that such traces were to be found even in Celtic service-books which had adopted the Roman Canon. The Council of Clovesho, in 747, accepted as a standard "the model which we have in writing from the Roman Church[1]." But even if the effect of the canon there enacted for the Province of Canterbury

[1] See the 13th Canon of the Council, in Haddan and Stubbs *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* vol. iii. p. 367. Johnson, in his note on the Canon, refers the phrase to the work of John the Precentor, whose written treatise on the manner of observing the feasts of the Church had been largely copied and widely spread at the time when Bede wrote (Johnson *Canons* vol. i. p. 249, ed. 1850: Bede *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 18). But the wording of the Canon suggests a document sent directly from Rome, and it may be allowable to conjecture that copies of the Roman books had been transmitted by Pope Zacharias together with the letters which were read at Clovesho.

had been to extinguish the Gallican usages in favour of the Roman—and it would have been harder to produce this result than to pass a canon for the purpose of producing it—the door was not effectually closed against the introduction of Gallican usages for the future. The Sacramentaries produced at a later time in France, as the result of the Carolingian reform, contained elements due to the service-books in use before that reform, and not directly taken from the Sacramentary of Adrian[1]. We find in them, in some cases, Gallican survivals. And the intercourse between England and the Continent during the ninth and tenth centuries had the effect of bringing Sacramentaries of this type into use in England even before the time of the Norman Conquest[2]. The exact part which these books had in the formation of the English mediæval uses is not yet determined: but it was, in all likelihood, an important part: and the Norman influence, in its turn, probably had some part in any Gallican elements which the later uses may retain. It is by these considerations, and not by any theory of the adoption or revision of a Gallican rite by St Augustine, that such Gallican survivals are to be accounted for. The idea that the later English uses can trace, through St Augustine, a descent from the Gallican rite, and that which seeks to connect them, through the Gallican rite, with the liturgical traditions of Ephesus, and with the Apostolic tradition of St John, rest upon no sound basis of historical fact, but upon reasoning which owes its premises for the most part to imagination.

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[1] I use this term to denote the Roman Sacramentary sent by Pope Adrian I. to Charles the Great, which supplied the principal part of the contents of the books of the Carolingian recension.

[2] The "Leofric Missal" and the "Missal of Robert of Jumièges" are instances of this. The former (as regards the main body of its contents) was actually written abroad: the latter, written in England, is clearly based upon a Sacramentary of the type produced by the Carolingian recension. No English Missal or Sacramentary is at present known to us of such a date and character as to be clearly independent of that recension.

Another of St Augustine's questions, the sixth of the series, may perhaps have been suggested to his mind by the circumstances of his own recent consecration. The general rule of the Church provided that consecration should not be performed by one bishop acting alone, but by more than one. At Rome, however, there was a recognised exception to this rule. The Pope, if he consecrated a bishop, did so without the co-operation of assistant bishops: and St Augustine, who had probably been present at consecrations so performed, would notice the contrast presented by the practice at Arles. The Synod of Arles (A.D. 314), in its 20th canon, had laid down the rule that seven bishops should be joined in each consecration, if so many could be brought together. And although the same canon allowed a consecration by three bishops (the number afterwards required by the 4th Canon of Nicæa) it is not unlikely that the usage indicated by the Council of Arles was maintained[1]. The existence of the rule, and the probable difficulty of observing it in the immediate future in England, would thus be brought forcibly to his remembrance. He may have heard that the British bishops did not observe the rule, which seems to have been frequently neglected in the Celtic Church: and he perhaps doubted whether he should himself ignore it, or should rather, if occasion arose, endeavour to obtain the co-operation of British bishops (a course which he might still suppose possible), or of bishops from Gaul. The Pope, perhaps, took a less serious view of the difficulty from

[1] The rule of the *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua* (sometimes called the Canons of the Fourth Council of Carthage), which appears in the Gelasian Sacramentary, represents the Gallican practice. It does not specify any precise number: but its observance would require *three* bishops, and the presence and co-operation of a larger number is clearly contemplated. Ferrandus, in the *Breviatio Canonum* (written about 547), as Duchesne points out, while stating the general rule in terms of the Roman Canon of 386, inserts words expressing the fact that the practice of the Popes was an exception. See Duchesne *Origines du Culte Chrétien* p. 348.

the fact that the traditional usage of his own see was an exception to the general rule. Being accustomed to act alone, he would naturally attach small importance to the action of "assistants." He regards them, in this case, as "witnesses," whose presence might be desirable if it could conveniently be had, but might well be dispensed with in a case of necessity[1]. St Augustine, for the present, might, and indeed must, be the sole consecrator.

It would appear, as has been said, from Bede's narrative, that these questions and answers were exchanged soon after St Augustine's consecration. On the other hand, it has been held, and the reference to a letter addressed to the metropolitan of Arles in St Gregory's seventh answer seems to support the opinion, that the answers, though possibly written at once, were not sent so soon as Bede's language implies, but were transmitted to St Augustine by the hands of Mellitus, together with the letter dated in June 601, which announces to St Augustine the gift of the "*pallium*"[2]. In this case, the responses to the question whether he should act alone in consecrating bishops for the "Church of the English," and to the question as to the relations between himself and the bishops of Gaul and of Britain, would reach St Augustine at the same time with a letter instructing him as to the number of bishops to be provided, and with the outward symbol of rank or authority.

[1] The assent of the bishops of the province to the consecration, which the Nicene canon secured, was for the present out of the question in England: apart from the British bishops, who are here ignored, there were no bishops of the province to assent: and extraneous bishops, if their action was not regarded as effecting anything in respect of consecration, would be "witnesses," and nothing more. The device adopted in the case of Pope Pelagius I. in 555 (*Liber Pontificalis* vol. i. p. 303, ed. Duchesne) of substituting the assistance of priests for that of bishops, is not suggested either in the question or in the response.

[2] The letters to Vergilius and St Augustine follow the series of questions and answers in Bede (*Hist. Eccl.* i. 28, 29).

The ornament thus conferred upon St Augustine was a vestment the original form of which is uncertain. Its name suggests that it was at first a kind of cloak, and that the form which it had assumed by the seventh century was due to a process of reduction in size. It had now become a sort of scarf, worn loosely round the neck, and resting on the shoulders, with one of its ends falling to the front and the other to the back of the wearer[1]. The use of a similar vestment by the Eastern bishops generally[2], and the direction of the Council of Macon in 581 that no bishop should celebrate mass *sine pallio*[3], seem to show that the wearing of the *pallium* was not strictly confined to prelates who had received it from the Emperor or the Pope. But this is quite compatible with the facts that the ornament was specially conferred upon individual prelates by both authorities, and that when thus conferred it was a mark of special honour or of special powers[4]. The precise relations of the Pope to the Emperor in regard to the sending of the *pallium* need not be discussed here[5].

[1] Illustrations showing the form of the vestment may be conveniently found in Marriott's *Vestiarium Christianum*. The 25th plate of the volume exhibits the form as we may believe it to have been in the time of St Gregory.

[2] The correspondence of the Greek "omophorion" with the early form of the *pallium* may be seen in Marriott's *Vestiarium Christianum*, plate 41, as compared with the picture of St Gregory already referred to.

[3] See Bruns *Canones* part 2, p. 243. The reading "episcopus" seems on the whole more likely to be the true one than that of "archiepiscopus" which Bruns adopts. But even the reading of Bruns' text would imply a more extended use of the vestment than we find at a later time in the West.

[4] The *pallium* sent by the Pope has long been made of the wool of the lambs of the Convent of St Agnes at Rome, and hallowed by contact with the tomb of St Peter.

[5] A summary of the principal facts on this and other subjects relating to the history of the "pallium" will be found in Duchesne's *Origines du Culte Chrétien* p. 370, or in Plummer's notes to the recent edition of Bede's Historical Works (vol. ii. p. 50).

The importance attached to its reception by metropolitans was a thing of gradual growth, and the rule that such reception must precede any exercise of metropolitan authority had not in St Gregory's time been established. St Gregory himself seems to have regarded it as a symbol of vicarial authority[1]: he refers to its possession by the metropolitan of Arles as evidence that no other bishop could be placed in a position of superiority to that see[2]: and in conferring it upon St Augustine he defines the number of the bishops whom the recipient was to be entitled to provide as his own subordinates[3]. The use of the vestment was limited, by the letter conferring it, to the time of the celebration of mass.

One more question seems to claim especial notice: and once again it appears that the question is one which cannot be confidently answered. It relates, however, not to St Augustine's own practice, but to the nature of a British usage which he desired to bring to an end. In the terms of union proposed by St Augustine to the British bishops, after their conference, one liturgical point, and one only (if we regard the fixing of the date of Easter as a matter of the law, rather than of the worship of the Church), was insisted upon. He demanded that for the future they should "fulfil the ministration of Baptism, whereby we are born again to God, after the manner of the holy Roman and apostolic Church"[4]. What was the practice which the British bishops were called upon to

[1] See the letter in which the *pallium* is granted to Vergilius of Arles (S. Greg. *Opera* vol. ii. col. 781, 783, in the Benedictine edition).

[2] See St Gregory's seventh response to St Augustine; Bede *Hist. Eccl.* i. 27.

[3] This, rather than the idea that St Augustine could not consecrate any bishop till he had received the *pallium*, seems to be the explanation of St Gregory's language in the letter contained in Bede *Hist. Eccl.* i. 29. The phrase "ita ut...duodecim episcopos ordines" seems to express a limitation, and not merely a purpose, in the authority conferred.

[4] Bede *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 2.

abandon? Different theories have been suggested, for each of which there is some ground. It has been supposed that the British followed the usage of single immersion, and that St Augustine insisted on the triple immersion which we find enjoined in the earliest Roman books. It has been supposed that chrism was not employed in the British rite of Baptism. It has been supposed that Confirmation, which may be regarded as a completion of the Baptismal rite, was sometimes, or altogether, omitted.

As to the first of these theories, it may be said that it is by no means unlikely that the British employed single immersion. This usage was followed in Spain: the early Gallican books leave the question of single or triple immersion open: and in the Breton diocese of St Malo single immersion was still retained as late as the 17th century[1]. The Stowe Missal testifies to the use of trine immersion or affusion in Ireland[2], but the composition of this book is, as we have seen, marked by traces of the influence of Roman books. Against this theory, on the other hand, we must set the fact that the Spanish custom was allowed by St Gregory[3], and the probability that, unless a similar usage among the British was connected with heretical belief, its abolition would not have been required by St Augustine.

In favour of the second view it may be said that at a later time it was stated that the use of chrism in Baptism was omitted by the Irish[4]; while in support of the third view it may similarly be alleged that St Bernard of Clairvaux asserts that the Irish, at the time of St Malachi's reforms, had been wont

[1] Martène *de Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus* vol. i. p. 50 (ed. 1763). Martène speaks as though the usage continued in his own time, but the authority he cites is the Diocesan *Statuta* of 1620.

[2] Warren *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* p. 216.

[3] S. Greg. *Opera* vol. ii. col. 532 (of the Benedictine edition).

[4] The statement is made by Lanfranc in a letter to the Irish king Tirlagh.

to neglect the rite of Confirmation[1]. The use of chrism at Baptism, however, is clearly directed in the Gallican books, and in the Stowe Missal: and the objections made by St Bernard to the Irish practice, while they probably rest upon individual cases of omission, rather than upon general usage, belong to a date much later than that of St Augustine. On the possibility that what was found to object to was the separation of Confirmation from the Baptismal rite, it may be worth notice that the Gallican books do not contain any direction that the baptized person should forthwith be confirmed. But the direction is not always found, even in Roman books; and its fulfilment would depend on the presence of the bishop[2].

[1] St Bernard *Vita Malachiae* c. 3.

[2] The unction with chrism was in its origin a part of the baptismal rite connected with the laying on of hands and performed, like that act, by the bishop. When baptism came to be commonly administered by priests a usage grew up in many places by which the priest administered unction with chrism. Innocent I. (*Ep.* i. *ad Decentium*) allows this, provided that the chrism had been consecrated by the bishop, and that the priest should not anoint the forehead. That act was reserved for the bishop at the time of the laying on of hands. But the latter condition was not always observed: and two letters addressed by St Gregory to Januarius of Calaris (*Epist.* iv. 9 and 26) give instructions on the matter. The first lays down the rule that the priest should anoint the breast, and seems to imply that it would be improper for the bishop, if the forehead had been anointed with chrism, to repeat that act. The second letter, making a concession to remove what was felt to be a grievance, permits priests, where there is a lack of bishops, to anoint with chrism even on the forehead. It is silent on the point of a repetition of such unction by the bishop. The British practice might, accordingly, have involved on the one hand the omission of unction by the bishop, if the priest had already anointed, or, on the other, the repetition of unction administered on the forehead. In the one case St Augustine would probably regard the whole rite as incomplete: in the other he may have regarded it as completed in an improper way. But in view of St Gregory's treatment of the question in Sardinia it does not seem likely that any irregularity of this kind which did not involve the total omission of unction with the chrism would have been regarded by St Augustine as a matter of vital importance.

Another suggestion has been made, which supposes that the point objected to by St Augustine was not one of omission but of addition to the ceremonial of the Roman rite, and is to be found in the usage of washing the feet of the newly baptized, after the unction with chrism. This custom, which seems to have been usual in the Gallican rite, is recognised in the Stowe Missal[1]. It was not in use at Rome[2]. In Spain it appears to have been prohibited by the Council of Elvira in 305, in an enactment which has found a place in the *Decretum* of Gratian, by reason of another prohibition contained in the same canon[3]. Of its use in Britain, however, we have no evidence. Nor is it likely that a custom commonly received in Gaul would have been regarded by St Augustine as a thing intolerable. Perhaps the true solution may be suggested by the fact that the Baptism of the Britons seems to have been, at a later time, regarded as of doubtful validity[4], and by the statement contained in a letter of Pope Zacharias to St Boniface, which asserts that a decree was made in an English synod (apparently referred by the writer to the time of St Augustine) declaring the nullity of Baptism "without the invocation of the Trinity[5]." If St Augustine had reason to think that the true form of Baptism was, even occasionally, neglected or corrupted, his desire for a reform in the British practice can be easily understood and justified. The most obvious and ready way of effecting the necessary reform would

[1] Warren *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* p. 217. Mr Warren seems disposed to accept the suggestion (made by Dr Rock) that this additional ceremony was the point to which objection was made.

[2] This is expressly stated in the treatise *De Sacramentis*, formerly attributed to St Ambrose (lib. iii. c. 1).

[3] See Hefele *History of the Councils* (Eng. Trans.) vol. i. p. 158.

[4] Theodore's Penitential orders the baptism of any one of the Scots or Britons who doubts whether he was duly baptized. See Haddan and Stubbs *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* iii. 197.

[5] The letter is to be found in Jaffé *Monumenta Moguntina* p. 185. The parts of it which refer to the alleged English canon are in Haddan and Stubbs *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* iii. 51.

naturally appear to him to be found in the adoption by the Britons of the Baptismal rite of the Roman Church. But here again the evidence is insufficient to support a decided conclusion in favour of the suggestion.

Such a result is perhaps by this time too familiar to anyone who may have read these notes with the hope of obtaining definite information on the usages of the English Church in the days of St Augustine and his followers. It is of a kind to which students whose enquiries are concerned with the liturgical history of this period are well accustomed. The subject is one in which much still remains to be done, perhaps much to be discovered, but in which, for the present, we must often be content to acknowledge that certainty is beyond our reach.

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